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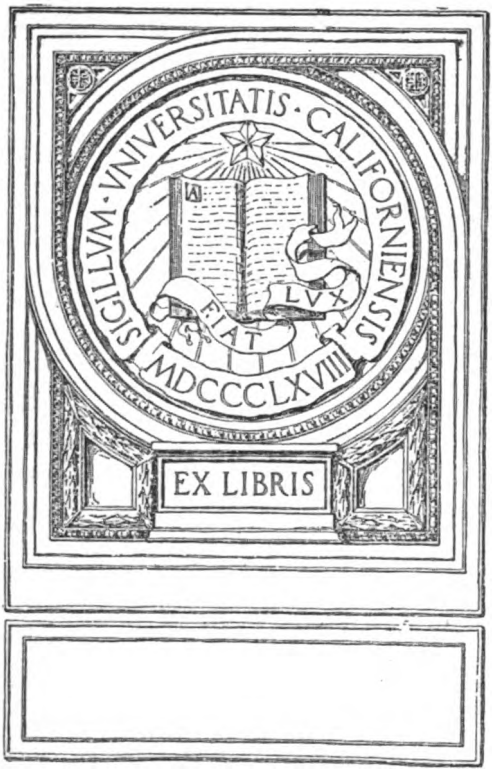




Kerry archaeological magazine

Kerry Archaeological Association

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No. 1. OCTOBER, 1908.

Kerry Archæological Magazine.

FITZGERALD EARL OF DESMOND

FITZMAURICE LORD KERRY

Carving from Ardfert Cathedral.

Pillar from Doorway at Aghadoe.

M'CARTHY MOR

FITZGERALD KNIGHT OF KERRY

Contents

		PAGE
Introduction	By the Editor	1
Inaugural Meeting		4
Antiquities Near Lispole	By the Bishop of Limerick	9
Story of Castle Magne	By Rev. J. Carmody, P.P.	17
Bibliographia Kerriensis	By J. Coleman, Esq.	38
Notes and Queries		45
List of Members		47

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		PAGE
Introduction	By the Editor	1
Inaugural Meeting		4
Antiquities Near Lispole . .	By the Bishop of Limerick	9
Story of Castle Magne .	By Rev. J. Carmody, P.P.	17
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Sept.

TELEPHONE
31

TELEGRAMS, KILLARNEY

Estate Office,
Killarney,
January, 191

Dear Sir,

In reply to your
of the 22nd July. Indexes
were not posted for the
Lands you mention.

Yours faithfully
O'Keeffe

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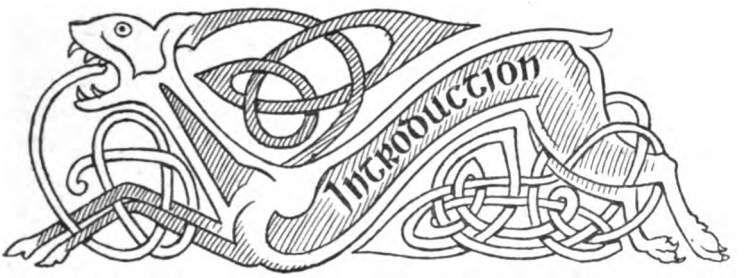
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The Right Hon. The EARL OF KENMARE, H.M.L., C.V.O.
President of the Kerry Archæological Association.

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IN issuing the first number of the County Kerry Archæological Journal, it may be well to state how the project originated. Some three years ago, on the occasion of a visit to Ardfert by members of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and their friends, Mr. George F. Trench expressed to some of those present an opinion that some publication was needed which would form a collection of all that was best as the result of past research in regard to Kerry antiquities, along with contributions from present and future investigators. For while Kerry antiquities have been the subject of many and various able treatises, extending back over a long time, these are unfortunately nowhere to be found in a collected form, and students must at great labour, seek to unearth the articles they want, from the shelves of public and private libraries, and miss at last, in all probability, the object of their quest. Besides, there are many places of interest in Kerry whose architectural and other remains have never yet been investigated or described, and a publication like this cannot

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TO VIAU
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fail to stimulate a noble curiosity, and a worthy effort to unveil the hidden records so long neglected or trodden under foot.

Encouragement in this direction was derived from the recent foundation of an Archæological Society and Journal in the County Galway, which have proved a success; and on hearing his suggestion I mentioned the subject to several friends, who urged me to undertake it, and promised help, and I therefore resolved to take some preliminary steps, and so, some eighteen months ago, sent out a circular to all the residents in Kerry, clergy, magistrates, and others, whose addresses I could obtain, and a good number of them agreed to subscribe. The subscription was fixed at £1 for Members and 10s. for Associates, and both will be entitled to a free copy of the Journal, while it is expected that if our numbers increase sufficiently to warrant it, the terms of the subscription will be reduced.

It is desirable that some sort of order should be observed in the publication of new matter, and in this opening number is given the first instalment of Rev. J. Carmody's paper on Castlemaine, and therefore it is hoped that members will deal with other parts of the same Barony of Trughenackmy for our next issue.

There is also, as Mr. S. H. Butcher pointed out at the inaugural meeting, much work of exploration to be done in the raths or forts scattered in hundreds all over the county, most, if not all, of which contain underground chambers, while the larger ones have Ogham stones and other objects of interest. The superstitious dread of those places which still has such a hold over the minds of the country people, while it has led to their being preserved intact for hundreds of years, may be a hindrance to the work of exploration.

We ought to collect Folklore, and that quickly, before the spread of English education has crushed it out of memory or existence; for, however absurd some of the old

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legends may seem, it is most important that they should be preserved, as they may have a high archæological or ethnological value.

Family histories—of which there are, no doubt, many interesting ones in Kerry—will also be welcome; and Kerry records of the 14th, 15th and early 16th centuries would be of special value.

Our special thanks for kind help in starting this magazine are due to the Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe; to Professor M. Macalister, of the Royal Irish Academy; Professor Trench, of Galway, and to Mr. Coleman, Hon. Secretary of the Cork Archæological Society, besides several of our members.

CHARLOTTE HUSSEY, Hon. Sec.

Aghadoe, Killarney.



STAIGUE FORT.

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Inaugural Meeting

A PUBLIC meeting to inaugurate the Kerry Archæological Association was held on the 7th October last in the Town Hall, Killarney, by kind permission of the Earl of Kenmare, who presided. In spite of the inclemency of the weather, it was well attended.

A Committee was elected, consisting of Lord Kenmare, President; Miss Palmer, Hon. Treasurer; Rev. Jas. Carmody, D. Cronin-Coltsman, Esq.; Captain Crane, D.S.O.; S. T. Heard, Esq.; Frank McDonough, Esq.; Major McGillycuddy, S. J. McCarthy, Esq.; G. F. Trench, Esq.; W. H. Welply, Esq., and Miss Hussey, Hon. Sec.

The Earl of Kenmare, in opening the meeting, said—"It gives me great pleasure to preside at this first meeting of the recently-formed Archæological Association of County Kerry. I am aware that a great deal of light has been thrown in the past on the relics of other days, which abound in this county. But the objects of interest have

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by no means been exhausted, and much remains yet undiscovered which would greatly add to our knowledge. It is with a view to getting as many people as possible to take a deeper interest in the history of their county that the Society has been established. I trust that it will be as representative as possible, and that we may be able to avail ourselves of the best talent of all classes in the community. I can only say for my part that I wish the Association every possible success, and I shall always take a deep interest in its progress."

The Right Rev. Dr. Orpen, Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe, then read a paper, the substance of which will be found on Page 9.

Bishop Orpen was followed by the Rev. J. Carmody, who said—"My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, I am happy indeed to be associated with you in the project of forming an Archæological and Historical Association for Kerry. Everywhere around us there are places full of antiquarian interest. There is probably not a parish in Kerry that has not objects whose history it would be useful and interesting to know. Not a castle that rears its head in the land that would not remind us of much of our past, did we know its history. We have Ogham stones, old Oratories, bee-hive cells scattered through the country, and Staigue Fort, the most curious relic of its kind in Ireland. Not, however, that this study has been altogether neglected. Not to mention Dr. Smith, whose work remains a classic, we had writers during the last century who did much for the study of Kerry archæology. They were pioneers and ardent students, who transmitted to us the valuable fruits of their labours. First of these, and greatest, was Arch deacon Rowan. About 1854 he started a periodical entitled 'The Kerry Magazine,' a brilliant, scholarly, interesting publication, devoted chiefly to Kerry history and antiquities. 'Lake Lore' was also a work of his on

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archæology, chiefly of Killarney. There was also a Miss Hickson, a most painstaking and gifted lady, who, after much patient industry, left us two interesting volumes entitled 'Old Kerry Records.' Father Denis O'Donoghue, P.P., wrote a valuable work, 'The Life of St. Brendan.' Nor should I omit to mention Miss Cusack's History of Kerry. It lacks, indeed, any systematic plan, but it contains many interesting old records and much valuable history. We have seen at intervals in recent years excursions made to different parts of our county by persons from all parts of Ireland in search of monuments of antiquity, and would it not mark us as unworthy of the treasures we possess did we not show at least an equal interest in these objects? Should it not rather be our aim to teach a knowledge of them to others; and, with this end in view, to make ourselves thoroughly acquainted with their history. For this reason I rejoice that now at last a society is being formed with this object in view. It starts to-day under distinguished patronage, and I have great hopes of its success. All I would still ask, to ensure this, is that each member shall do his part, by contributing something to the knowledge and the history of the antiquities of our county. In this way we may hope with some confidence to leave behind us a record of our labours not unworthy the grand task we have undertaken."

Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., also spoke as follows—"I wish to join cordially in the remarks made by previous speakers, welcoming the formation of an Archæological Society in Kerry. It is high time that we should explore our possessions, and not only unearth our treasures, but find out their meaning. It is interesting to remember at what an early date in history allusions are found to Ireland. The first reference, I believe, in literature to Ireland is in a Greek work probably of the first century before Christ, where there is mention of the 'Britannic Islands,' consisting of 'Albion' and 'Ierne.' To my

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extreme regret, I am ignorant of Irish, and have no claim to Irish archæological knowledge in any proper sense of the word. But I am acquainted with the methods and results of such research in other departments of learning, and realise what great questions hinge on Celtic antiquities. A couple of years ago, as some of you may remember, Professor Boni, the well-known Italian Archæologist, visited Ireland for the special purpose of finding whether certain features in very early Irish architecture might not throw light on some unique remains he had come to in excavating the most ancient strata in the Forum at Rome. He could not, however, verify his theories, so much remained to be done in Ireland in the way of digging and exploration. This is but a single instance, but it shows how keen is the interest taken elsewhere in the antiquities of this country. People in several counties in Ireland have already woke up to the value of their own local antiquities and relics, and we in Kerry should not be behind-hand. There is probably no part of Ireland where there are more fascinating questions to solve, or where organised effort is more needed. We may not be ourselves specialists, but nothing is too minute to observe and record, and persons more skilled than ourselves will make use of our material. Obviously one of the first things to do is to excavate the raths and forts with which Kerry abounds. Close to my own house is a round fort (as it seems) whose mysterious inside I have often wished to penetrate. I trust we may soon get our Association into working order; and meantime we owe our gratitude to Miss Hussey, who, with a public spirit we admire, has stirred us up and set us in motion."

Mr. McDonough said that there were very interesting places through the County which might be visited and explored by the Society. He himself was much interested in several, notably in the district to the north of McGillycuddy's Reeks, and between that and Killorglin,

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which must in pre-historic times have been a great centre of population, and this was only one place out of many in which ancient ruins lay buried. Like other members, he earnestly wished that these hidden treasures should be unearthed, and that the world might be benefited by the light they threw on ancient history. He joined in the wish that the Society and all its members should be active in this work, and for his part he would do his utmost to assist.

After a few words from Mr. Welply,

Mr. George F. Trench, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Earl of Kenmare for presiding, said that the assistance which Lord Kenmare had promised to give would be of the greatest value if, along with that, we had the co-operation and earnestness of the members. He mentioned the visit to Kerry last year of a large party of Archæologists from other parts of Ireland as to evidence of the richness of this county in materials for research and record. In Cork, Galway, and other counties societies were at work, and Kerry should not remain longer behind. The immediate and most important work to initiate is a Journal of Kerry Antiquities. In this, along with new matter, there might possibly be a re-print of the most valuable articles of former investigators, which are to be found scattered here and there in many publications not now accessible to the public.

Father Carmody seconded the motion.

The Earl of Kenmare, in thanking the meeting, said that he would do all in his power to forward the interests of the Association, and hoped that by co-operation they would make it one of the strongest and most successful societies in Ireland.

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ANTIQUITIES NEAR LISPOLE, CO KERRY.

By the Right Rev. R. d'A. Orpen, D.D., Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe.

IN the neighbourhood of Lispole station, on the Dingle Railway, there are to be seen several objects of antiquarian interest. Indeed, the whole barony of Corcaguinny affords a field in which the searcher for antiquities (many of a prehistoric class) can find abundant opportunities for gratifying his tastes. About two hundred yards north of Lispole Railway Station there may be seen, almost from the windows of the railway carriage, the ancient Church of St. Martin. It stands in an extremely large rath, measuring about 50 yards in diameter. I believe it is a rare thing to find the ruins of a church within a rath, though there are some other examples. I note that on the Ordnance map this enclosure is marked as a churchyard. I inquired in the neighbourhood, and those I asked said they never heard of it being so used, nor could I find any sign of graves. The church is rather towards the eastern end of the enclosure. In the

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very centre there is some trace of another building, just a quoin stone and part of a wall. The church itself was a small one, lying east and west. It was 30 feet

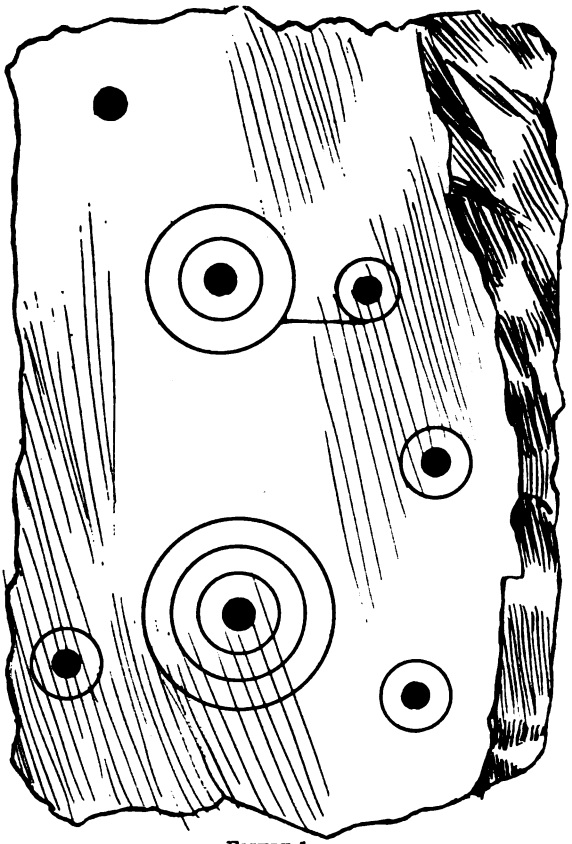


FIGURE 1
Engraved stones on Mr. Brosnan's farm, near "Turacht," Lispole, Length about 6 feet, width about 4 feet. Lying East and West.

long by 10 wide, outside measurements. The walls were about 3 feet thick. The only opening remaining is that of the doorway, which is in the western end of the building, which presents the features of the jambs inclining towards each other at the lintel. On measuring as closely as the rubbish allowed me, the jambs appear to be about

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three inches further apart at the threshold than at the lintel. The lintel is a single stone (without any sustaining arch). It has a rude moulding carved upon it, and the

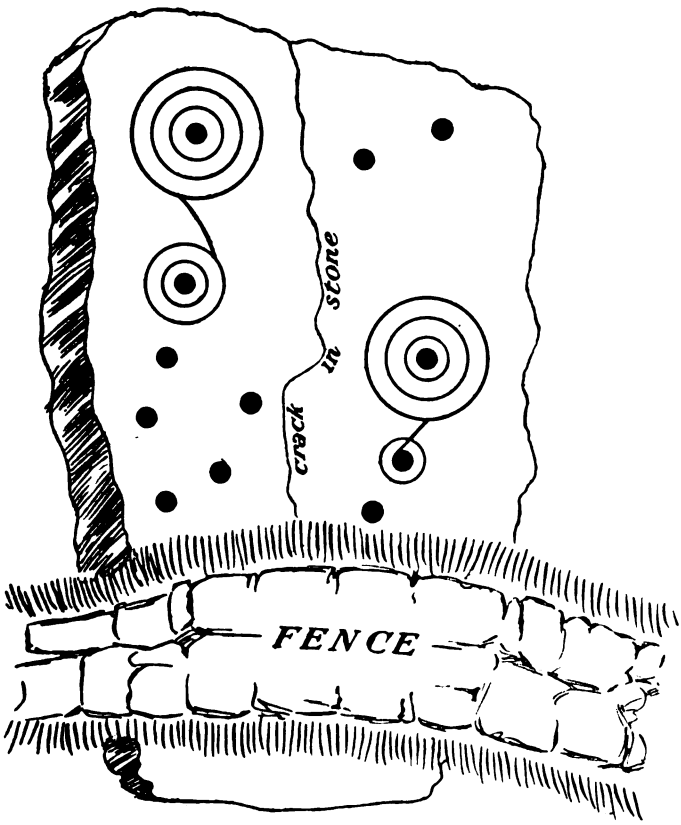


FIGURE 2

jambs have a corresponding moulding on them, and further in on the jambs there is a second moulding of the same kind. Some of the stones in the gable over this door are very large. The eastern end of the building was so overgrown with briars that it was not possible to examine it properly, but after a battle with these thorns a partial glimpse was had, which seemed to show that the eastern

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window had disappeared, and only a large breach remained. It is very possible that a thorough examination of the debris would disclose other matters of interest. I believe that the inclined jambs, above mentioned, indicate a period not later than the tenth century.

Leaving the Church of St. Martin, and passing down the main road towards Dingle, we take a turn to the left, and cross the river to the village of Furacht. Here, on the farm of Mr. Brosnan, about 300 yards up the hill towards the south, may be seen a carved stone (see Fig. 1), marked with cups and concentric circles. The stone is about 6 feet long by 4 feet wide. It was partially covered with sods of grass, which, when they were cleared away, revealed some other cups and circles. This stone lies on one of the ditches running north and south on Mr. Brosnan's farm. I do not think that its existence was known before or recorded. Passing further upward, we come to the upper road, and here, on the farm of Mr. Murphy, about 50 yards above the road, may be seen another very large stone (see Figure 2), engraved with cups and circles. This stone is about 14 feet long and 7 feet wide. Some of these concentric circles are very large, measuring about 18 inches in diameter. Channels were cut from the cups through the concentric circles. A couples of miles further west at Kinnard, near the burial ground (in which the remarkable "Mariamne" Ogham is to be seen) there is another of these engraved stones of same character (see Figure 3). But it has the peculiarity of having carved round the groups of circles a channel shaped something in the form of a boy's kite, or an oval with one end very narrow, the centre line of this oval corresponding with the channels cut through the circles and connecting the cups. About 20 yards to the north of this Kinnard stone may be seen a single cup and circle on the corner of a rock. I may mention here that further west, near Ballintaggart, at Ballywoonig, there is another

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single cup and circle which I found on a rock, the last of which was covered with clay and grass. I had these removed, but nothing further was disclosed. I had hoped that the analogy of Kinnard might have led to something. About a couple of hundred yards from the en-

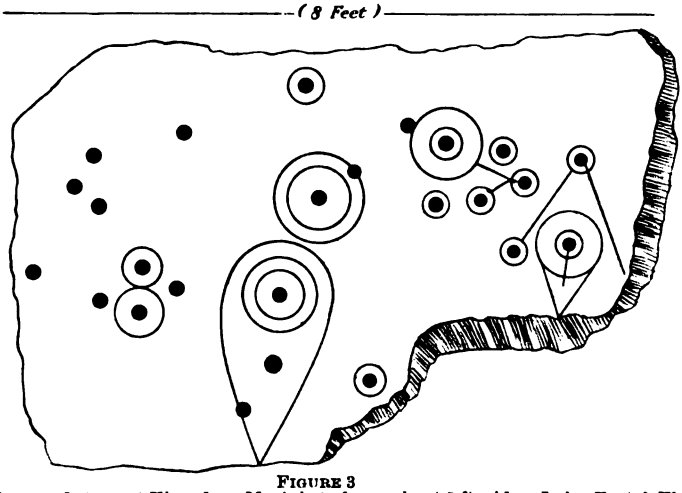


FIGURE 3
Engraved stone at Kinard, on Mr. Ashe's farm, about 5 ft wide. Lying East & West

graved stone on Mr. Murphy's farm, and towards the south-west, there is a cahir or cashel. It is built of stone, and in the centre may be seen the remains of a circular stone building about 18 feet in diameter. The walls of this building which remain, about 3 feet high, present a distinct vertical curve inwards, similar to those beehive structures to be seen elsewhere in this barony, though not often of such a size. On the ground was found a large flat stone, which measured about 4 by 3 feet in diagonals, and at one corner there was a hole of about 2 inches diameter bored through it. It has been suggested that it may have been for the purpose of holding the rude hinge of a door. The name given to this cashel in the Ordnance Map is "Lis-na-killa," probably the fort of the cell connected with the cell-like structure just mentioned.

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Returning to the upper road, there may be seen in Mr. Murphy's garden, about 20 yards north of the road, the "Giant's Grave," a grave with the headstone and footstones about 10 feet apart. Returning towards the village of Furacht, in a northerly direction, we come to

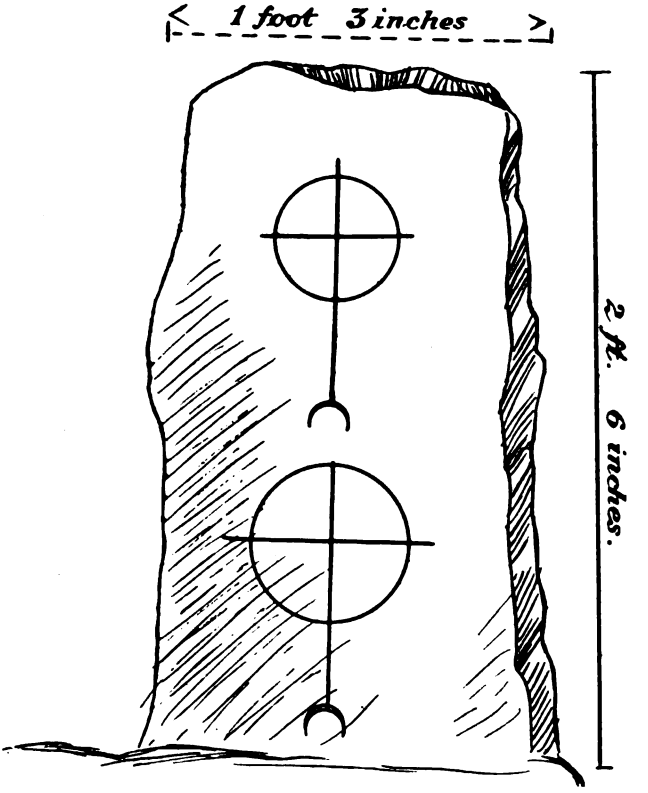


FIGURE 4
Crosses on the movable stone in the passage of Mr. Rath, at Aughacarrible.
From rough sketch by the Bishop of Limerick.

a small rath which has an opening within it, and a passage supported by upright stones and roofed with other stones. Upon these there are to be found Ogham inscriptions. These are noticed in Mr. Brash's book as found at Aghacarrible. Besides these stones, which are

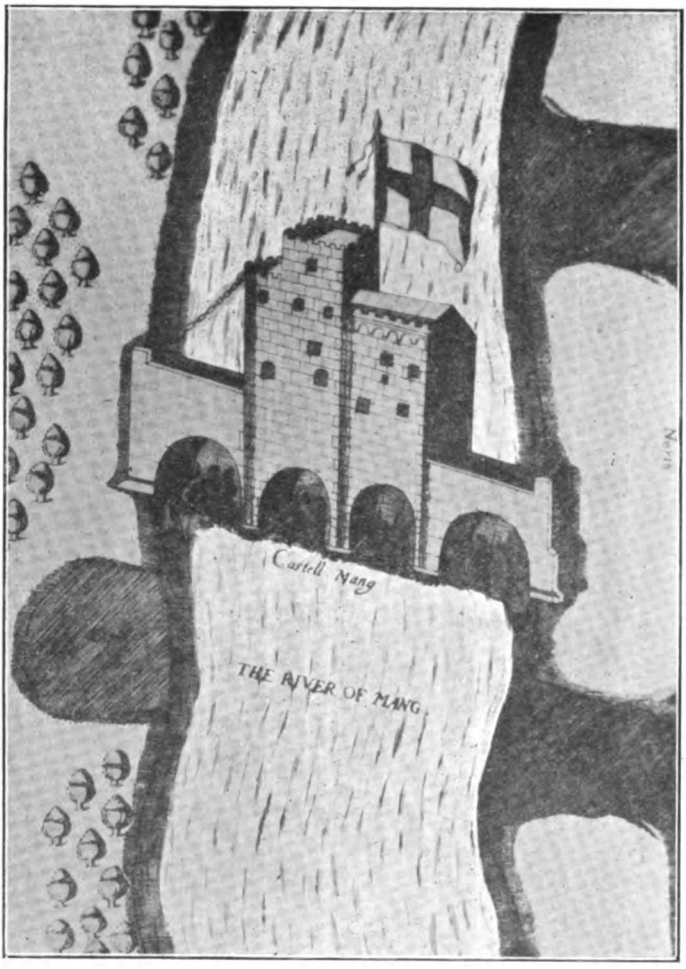
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fixtures, there is to be seen another stone, carved with two crosses of peculiar form (see Fig. 4). It does not appear to be any portion of the building, and it is movable. On returning to the Lispole station there may be seen, near a smith's forge, a stone with an Ogham inscription. It was at one time made use of as a lintel to a stable door, but it now lies on the ground, and the inscription, originally cut very rudely, has been rendered more obscure by being chipped away. An attempt to get a rubbing was made, but without satisfactory results.

It may be mentioned that a bronze hatchet was dug up a few years ago at Furacht, and is now in my possession. There is a tradition that a great battle was fought in the neighbourhood at Aghacarrible, and possibly this hatchet may have been one of the weapons of the slain.



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CASTLE MAGNE IN 1600, A.D.

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Story of Castle Magne, Co. Kerry.

BY THE REV. JAMES CARMODY, P.P.

THIS Kingdom of Kerry,—land of sunny lakes and lofty mountains, sheltered woods and lordly rivers, is no less interesting to the antiquarian and student of history than it is to the lover of nature. Every barony within its borders abounds in archæological remains from heathen and Christian times, while for objects and scenes of historic note the county is no less remarkable. Of the places round which memories cluster, sad or joyful, one is Castle Magne, whose fortunes we are about to relate;—a spot that during an eventful reign engaged the anxious thoughts of a powerful sovereign, and one on which the eyes of the Celt full oft were centred, from the feeling that its struggle meant a rally for Ireland.

Such as we know it, Castle Magne is a scattered hamlet on the banks of the Maine, ten miles south of Tralee, and some three miles in a bee-line from the head of Dingle Bay. It has one main street or roadway leading to the south, and bending

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westward to the river, which is here spanned by a bridge of four arches. On this bridge there stood an ancient castle, known as Castle Magne, before yet a village existed. In past times it was so narrow as to afford space barely sufficient for a single car to pass, but some forty years ago it was enlarged to its present dimensions, thus giving it a somewhat modern appearance. To-day there is little to arrest attention in that old structure, but two generations back it still bore traces of the purpose for which it once served. There extended eastward along the bed of the river, from the two central arches, three massive buttresses. The castle stood on these arches and projected on the buttresses. Beyond the eastern parapet was a square aperture of masonry opening into the water, which was associated in the minds of a past age with mysterious and fearful significance. It was known as the "Murdering Hole," and was religiously believed to be the spot above which stood the gallows of the mighty Desmond. If the truth were known, it probably served a much more innocent purpose. There was here another relic of antiquity, which was the source of much heated discussion in times past. In the roadway, on the bridge, near the western parapet, was placed a stone scored with what seemed a cup-marking within a half-circle. The popular belief held its ground for years that this was nothing else than the imprint of his Satanic Majesty's iron-shod foot, as he was about to soar aloft at early morning, after one of his periodic visits to the scene of his former revels; but a ruthless iconoclast comes along and casts discredit on the venerable tradition, maintaining as he did, that this was the stone, with its socket, on which one of the gates of the castle revolved. We leave the decision of this weighty question to the learned, while we proceed with our narrative.

There is a drawing of the castle in "Pacata Hibernia" as it appeared in 1600. The sketch shows two central

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towers of unequal height. The higher has a flat roof and battlement, from which rises a low square turret, also battlemented. The other tower has a plain gable roof. From these towers two uncovered passages, protected by strong walls, lead across the outer arches. The eastern side of the castle, that shown in the drawing, has a number of small square windows; and there appears a portcullis, suspended by chains, to be let down when necessary to defend the southern gate of the castle.

Before the use of cannon, a secure position was a matter of the first importance on which to build a castle. The chieftain's great reliance was in his castle in times of turbulence and disorder, when laws had little force, and each man's safety lay in the strength of his following, and still more in the security of his stronghold. Hence so many castles surrounded by deep moats, some perched on steep escarpments; but the bold idea of building one on the bridge of a broad river was a daring project for those times, as it would be to-day. That the bridge was originally intended for carrying a castle seems more than probable, as its foundations are unusually broad and massive, and the central arches on which the castle stood were evidently intended for strength, being pointed almost to the extent of Gothic arches. Whether the castle fulfilled its purpose as a place of safety may be judged from what we are about to say.

As Castle Magne figures prominently during the Elizabethan wars, it may be useful to say a few words on the state of Ireland leading up to that time. The coming of Henry II. in 1172 is a story sufficiently familiar. When he got quiet foothold in Ireland, he divided fully half its lands among ten of his followers[1]. Thus were scattered through the country two distinct communities who hated

1. Prendergast's Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland. Introduction XLV.

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one another, and were as different in laws, and language, and habits, as if an ocean rolled between them. After the invasion of Edward Bruce in 1315, and as a consequence of it [2], we find a division of the settlers themselves into English of the Pale and English outside the Pale. The English of the Pale were those who observed English laws and upheld English authority. The English outside the Pale were those who gradually shook off English control, and became independent princes within their own territories. They appointed their own sheriffs and judges, and governed their subjects by what was known as "March Law." The native chieftains were similarly independent, and governed their clans according to the old Brehon Law.

There dwelt in Munster, on either bank of the Maine, two chieftains, each probably the most powerful of his class. In the country south of the river, known as Desmond, the Irish chieftain, MacCarthy Mor, reigned supreme. He owned the western half of Cork and the southern half of Kerry. North of the river the Norman lord, the great Earl of Desmond, held sway, and was owner of the entire district from Dungarvan to the Blaskets. The heads of these houses were rivals through all their history; still, if we can believe tradition, both entered at one time into a project for their mutual protection. The Brown Flesk, rising in the borders of the County Cork, and flowing in a westerly direction, joins the Maine near Currans, and the united streams, continuing in a westward course, enter the estuary of Dingle Bay, a few miles from Castle Magne. The confluence of these streams,—still called the Maine,—formed the boundary between Kerry and Desmond, and as it gets quickly flooded in rainy seasons, having to drain a vast tract of country, it often formed an impassable barrier

2. Prendergast. Introduction LIV.

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between these two territories. A bridge at Castle Magne would thus become the regular means of communication, and at certain times the only one, between those extensive districts. The account given in all the local histories is, that Desmond and McCarthy Mor agreed, at their joint expense, to construct a bridge at this point on which to erect a castle. They were to have an equal claim on the fortress, and stipulated that each chieftain should hold it for a year by turns. McCarthy Mor held it for the first year, and when his term had expired he handed it over to Desmond. The latter then garrisoned the castle, but when his year was completed, instead of giving it over, he ordered his men to hold it, which they did, and attacked and drove off McCarthy Mor and his party.

Though it be a pity to spoil a pretty story, we fear we must refuse to accept this one as authentic. The castle may have served to protect one chieftain as against the other, but it could scarcely have served as a defence for their joint protection. It must have been built by a Geraldine for the double purpose of securing possession of the pass, and of defending this rather exposed border of his territory. In a letter of Elizabeth to the Council in Dublin[8], April 26th, 1587, she states expressly that it was built as a defence against the encroachments of the McCarthys. "And the ward of Castle Magne," she writes, "standing upon the river Magne, which is a boundary to that part between Kerry and Desmond, *builded for defense against the nation and septs of McCarthys*, being a yearly charge of 285*l* 18s. 4d., sterling, to be likewise discharged, etc." Indeed, there is an entry in the Annals of Innisfallen which would seem to settle the matter beyond dispute. It is as follows:—"1215 A.D. Maurice, son of

8. "Remembrance to pass from Her Majesty to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland" among the State Papers.

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Thomas Fitzgerald, built a castle in Dunloath, and the castles of Killforglan and Magne were also built by him." The castle of Magne is manifestly our castle. We may conclude then, that Castle Magne was built by Maurice Fitzgerald some time about 1215. [a]

There are few facts to mention in connection with its early history. The first I find is that in 1357 Maurice Oge [4], second son of Desmond, died suddenly at Castle Magne, and was buried in the Dominican Abbey at Tralee. The next incident I have to relate regarding it is that Gerald, Earl of Kildare, who was Lord Deputy under Henry VIII., led an army into Kerry in 1510, and took the castles of Pallace and Castle Magne. The Desmonds, never willing to submit meekly to an injury, hurriedly mustered their forces under James [5], son of the Earl of Desmond, and having joined O'Brien of Thomond, pursued and overtook the Lord Deputy near Limerick, where they gave him battle, when Kildare was defeated with loss. There is no further reference to Castle Magne down to the reign of Elizabeth.

That Queen came to the throne in 1558. From the first she had set her heart on the complete conquest of Ireland. She determined that the country should be portion of her dominions in reality as in name. "The Pale at this time," says Prendergast, "was nearly limited by the line of the Liffey and the Boyne." Elizabeth resolved that the shores of Ireland should be made the boundaries of the Pale, that every soul within its four seas should accept her rule, at whatever cost. We shall not delay over the harrowing details of what Lecky calls

a. This Maurice also built the castles of Callinafercy (calaid na fearsad) and Molahiffe (magh Lahiv). There is no trace of the former, but a small portion of the latter castle still remains. Ordinance Survey Letters, Co. Kerry, 1841.

4. Cusack's History of Kerry, Page 114.

5. The historians do not agree in their accounts of this affray, but I have given that which I consider the most probable.

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the "wars of extermination" that followed. They possess indeed a painful interest for Irishmen, but they do not enter into our task. We shall merely refer briefly to such incidents as have a bearing on our story.

The great difficulty that lay in the way of the conquest of Ireland was the vast power of the Anglo-Irish lords. It had become the fixed policy of the State under Henry[6], her father, to crush these powerful chieftains, and break up their territories for the purpose of a new Plantation. The same policy was pursued by Elizabeth. For the present the native Irish lords were to be treated with favour, even indulgence. The Anglo-Irish house of Kildare had all but become extinct by the execution of that Earl and his five uncles at Tyburn in 1535. Elizabeth now resolved to reduce Desmond. Lord Deputy Sydney suddenly arrested him in Kilmallock[7] in 1567, and sent him with his brother, Sir John of Desmond, to the Tower in London. Then Sir John Perrott was made Lord President of Munster towards the close of 1570, and he ravaged the Desmond Palatinate from one end to the other. No army or fortress seemed capable of arresting the progress of this brilliant leader. "He burnt or blew up," says Froude, "every stronghold, large or small, which closed its gates before him." When all the other castles had been reduced, he prepared to march on Castle Magne. In a letter to Lord Burleigh he speaks of the importance of the place and "the necessity of winning it." He had a large army and heavy seige trains, but that success may be placed beyond doubt, he summoned[8] all the chieftains of Munster to meet him at Castle Magne on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 1571. They were to come with their forces, and bring their own provisions. Most of the

6. McGee's History of Ireland, 1 vol., Reign of Henry the Eighth.
7. McGee's History of Ireland.
8. Annals of the Four Masters

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chiefs attended, and straightway Perrott laid siege to the place. James Fitzmaurice, Desmond's cousin, was the only leader in Munster with a following now holding out against the Government. He placed a Constable and Ward in Castle Magne, and this handful of men, with little better resources than stout hearts, prepared to resist Perrott to the death. But however unequal seemed the conflict, still may the Ward be trusted to make Perrott fight for his prize.

Cannon were first used in Ireland in 1487, and were in general use in the sixteenth century. Perrott had cannon, had men, had every appliance at his command to batter down the castle, or reduce it by starvation if not otherwise. Still the days of June pass and he has made no progress. Perrott is resourceful. He offers pardon, perhaps rewards, but in vain. He then erects in front of the castle a high gallows, for all whom it may concern. The Constable looks out and sees. He calls his little garrison together, and calmly asks is there a craven heart among them; if so, he is free to leave the castle. For himself, as long as a day's rations remain he will be faithful to his charge for James Fitzmaurice. The little band is as true as steel, and one and all give up a shout of defiance that startles the hosts of the besiegers. Perrott again levels his cannon, and thunders charge upon charge against those walls. Miss Hickson, in "Old Kerry Records,"[9] describes the siege from a plan of it in the State Paper Office, and probably sketched at the time. "It represents," she says, "the old fortress on the bridge. In a field before it are two large cannon, volumes of smoke issuing from their mouth. Behind them is a large circle marked 'Lord President's camp,' flanked by two smaller ones entitled 'Galloglass Campes.' A bog lies to the south, with another circle near it, 'the first campe,'

9. 1st Series—Page 308.

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and on a bog towards the north are the words, 'here the Ordnance cam over.' Close by stands the abbey of Killagha, not yet ruined, but between it and the President's camp ominously stands a tall gallows! On the other side of the river is McCarthy Mor's camp, backed by woods and bogs." South of the bridge stood Perrott's camp, with the cannon. North of it was the camp of McCarthy Mor. The cannon were probably brought round by North Kerry and transferred across the river west of the bridge. The Constable sees among the besiegers some who should be his friends. McCarthy Mor's camp conspicuous for its numbers. To-day for Desmond, but McCarthy Mor's day is sure to come. Barry, from Buttevant, and Fitzmaurice from Lixnaw, and Sir Owen O'Sullivan from Dunboy. Though Owen's heart is not in the work, for he would rather act the friend, as the Constable has reason to know.

But the little stock of provisions in the castle is running out. They have yet, perhaps, a bag of oatmeal, some salt, abundance of fresh water, no doubt, but little else. There are grounds for fear the end must come by starvation, if not by the gallows. One night the trusty sentinel sends a message to the Constable, to announce a stranger at the gate who would have a word with him. The Constable goes to know the errand of the mysterious visitor. A few words are exchanged, and the sentinel is directed to undo the lock and admit the stranger. It is Sir Owen O'Sullivan; nor has he came empty, for he has managed to place at the gate a supply of food and ammunition, and, better still, has information to convey, which seems to infuse a new spirit and soul into the Ward. "The powder is nearly exhausted, and cannot last another week," and with these words he turns and leaves the castle as stealthily as he entered it. But Perrott's spies are awake, and Owen is descried in the darkness, and tracked to his camp, and word reaches

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Perrott that same night that Sir Owen O'Sullivan has been found conveying relief to the Ward. Next morning Perrott sends a band of soldiers, with peremptory orders to bring Owen before him. Before the soldiers reach O'Sullivan's camp Owen gets word. A horse happens to be at the door of his tent. At a bound he is astride the animal, and before the escort realise what is occurring Owen is out of reach.[10]

Meanwhile the Ward are all alive within, and during the coming days show unwonted activity. They are now determined to hold the fort for weeks. It is by this time the end of July, and hopes of success seem departing from the commander himself. The humiliation of defeat is galling to this haughty Saxon, in whose veins courses Royal blood, for he is no Perrott, but a Tudor, son of Bluff Harry and half brother to the English Queen, though not after a manner to bear strict examination. This fact too, Elizabeth shrewdly guesses, else why her special affection for him,—sisterly affection? The supply of powder is all but gone, and Perrott is forced to spend the following days inactive. He organizes another attack, the last. He directs the last cannon shot against those walls. Little damage done. There is no more powder. Perrott orders the siege to be raised, and bids the soldiers get ready. The Munster Lords depart for their homes, and Perrott and his soldiers march sullenly back to Cork.

Friendly hands lose no time in bringing much-needed supplies to the Ward at the castle, and there is rejoicing this night in every cabin in Munster at the heroic resistance of that gallant band. Perrott writes to Burleigh to say that Castle Magne was "much damaged," but that he was obliged to discontinue the siege "through want of powder"

10. "Answer of Donnell O'Sullivan, &c., May 10th, 1587." Document in the State Paper Office.

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The Ward at the castle prepare to make good the injury done by the siege, and soon the place looks trim once more. Perrott is chafing in Cork at his discomfiture at *Caislen-na-Maigne* and is impatient for the time to renew the attack. In the first days of June, 1572, he is again before its walls, and this time with the most elaborate preparations of artillery, ammunition, and men. *Delenda est Carthago.* Again the neighbouring chieftains and their clans appear. Lord Roche from Fermoy, and Donal, Earl of Clancarthy. Shifty Donal! He had been arrested by Sydney in 1565 on some pretended charge, and sent to England. The Queen treated him with the utmost kindness, created him Earl of Clancarthy, for which Donal, no doubt, dutifully gave thanks. Her Majesty gave him money for his journey and sent him back to Ireland, "to be a thorn in the side of Desmond." [11]

His followers do not take kindly to the dignity, and soon he allows his hair grow long, dons his saffron shirt, rides his charger saddleless, and proclaims himself once again McCarthy Mor, all of which were penal in a Queen's Earl. Soon Perrott appears in Munster, and Donal scents danger, slips on his Earl's coronet, and at the Lord President's summons, on saddled war-horse, with hair closely cropped, and smart dress, he appears one of the foremost at the castle. Loyalty is not the motive with Donal, as one may guess, though in after years he makes his presence at the siege his plea for favour at Her Majesty's hands [12]. And now Perrott sets down in earnest to his work. Mindful of Sir Owen O'Sullivan, he places trusty guards around the castle at all points. The garrison at the castle generally was a dozen men. At present they

11. Lake Lore—Page 60.
12. Letter of the Earl of Clancar to Queen Elizabeth, May 28th, 1583, in the State Paper Office. The Earl's only son—the Baron of Valentia, had been given up as a hostage in 1578; and the Earl entreats Elizabeth, that this son be given back to him to be educated; and as proof of his deserts, he reminds the Queen he had been with Perrott at the siege of Castle Magne.

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number perhaps thirty. Sir William Herbert, of whom we shall hear again, and who knew the place well, remarks of it, "The number it could contain was so small as to be insufficient to resist an attacking force of any consequence." Now, however, a brave general, with a considerable force, prepares to take it, and hang its thirty men. Every breach has been carefully repaired. Somewhat better weapons are provided, though probably not more than ten of the Ward have muskets; the remainder are archers. There is no mention of cannon. One sad want remains, however. It was still early for the harvest, and provisions are scarce, perhaps the appearance of Perrott was unexpected. From whatever cause, their store of supplies is not as ample as would be desired. Still the Ward's secret to themselves, and they make welcome, we may be satisfied, with cheers, each contingent as it arrives. Perrott thinks, can no way be discovered for its reduction besides direct and tedious blockade? He brings his cannon on the river bank above the bridge, and pounds at the walls over the buttresses. One stone dislodged here would be sure beginning of the end, but one stone he cannot dislodge. Weeks pass, and with all his resources Perrott is making no headway. The strong castle of Glen was taken by Carew in a few days. Carrigafoyle, surrounded by a deep moat and double wall, and defended by more than sixty men, is carried in two days. Castle Magne, without outposts or walls of defence of any sort, is perfectly secure after five weeks. Six weeks pass, and Perrott redoubles his energy. His thoughts can take no other course than think, and plan, and act for the reduction of the castle. Everybody is anxious to know the fate of Castle Magne, but no word of news from Perrott. Lord Burleigh writes in August, "Perrott is besieging Castle Magne since the beginning of June, and I have not since got any word from him." Seven weeks are over, and the Ward set the besiegers at

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defiance. Eight weeks, and still no appearance of yielding. Perrott, though ugly deeds are laid to his charge, is not a man of blood. He offers them their liberty if they will deliver up the castle. The offer is haughtily rejected. Perrott now decides to starve out the garrison. He seems at last to have adopted the right plan, and there are grounds for fear he will succeed.

Is there none to render aid to that heroic Ward, none to create a diversion in Perrott's forces, that a little provisions may be smuggled into the castle? With Desmond and his brother in prison, there appears no hope of relief. James Fitzmaurice hovers round Slieve Loughra, but the bulk of his followers have fallen off, and with his diminished forces he dare not challenge Perrott. Help nowhere. Nine weeks pass, and still the defenders show no signs of yielding. But the end must soon come. The luxury of half-rations is long past. Still ten weeks go by and every man is at his post. Eleven weeks, and the operations of the besiegers are now confined to guarding every avenue to the castle. The twelfth week comes to an end, and a white flag is hoisted from the parapet. Perrott sends an officer to know what the Constable has to say. The latter asks, what are the conditions of surrender? Perrott answers, if they deliver up the fortress within an hour they may leave free men. Terms accepted. In less than an hour the Ward march forth from the castle, and Perrott takes over his coveted prize. And now is ended that "long, chargeable, and troublesome siege." Now may Perrott be called Lord President of Munster. The castle will serve as a rallying point for Her Majesty's forces in Munster. It will control the territories of Desmond and McCarthy Mor. John Herbert, a trusted officer, is made Constable, with a garrison of ten men, and Perrot proceeds to Cork.

With this last and greatest of Desmond's strongholds taken, and its owner in chains, Her Majesty may feel

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secure from further anxiety regarding this most formidable of all the "degenerate" Anglo-Irish lords. Still, may Desmond be heard of again.

In the spring of 1573 James Fitzmaurice made his submission to Perrott in Kilmallock, and the latter makes application to Elizabeth for his recall to England after his three weary years in Munster. Perrott is recalled, and sets sail from Youghal in September. When Desmond had been three years in the Tower, it was deemed advisable, for reasons of State, to send him on to Dublin. He is accordingly transferred there in 1570, and placed in charge of the Mayor of that city. In 1573 Christopher Fagan, a new Lord Mayor, took up the chains of office. He absolutely refused, however, to be the Earl's jailor, but offered to keep him as a guest in his house. This is agreed to, and Desmond is allowed to move abroad, with the obligation of reporting himself regularly at midday and at night. ([13]) He is treated with more consideration than heretofore, and allowed the use of a horse. On a certain day he requests the privilege of attending a hunt, which is granted. He goes, accompanied by a few friends. As night approaches, he turns his face towards the south, puts spurs to his horse, and makes a dash for freedom. He succeeds that night in reaching Kildare, and in a few days makes good his way to his cherished abode, the "Sweetest Island of Kerry."[b] In every cabin and castle in Munster where a Milesian or English rebel dwells, there is unmeasured delight and rejoicing that this traditional enemy of hated Saxon rule is once more in their midst. There is a flutter, even a panic, among the supporters of the Government. All courage and judgment seem to have left them, and most of Desmond's castles are yielded up without a struggle. Letters of alarm are sent to Dublin and

(13.) Old Kerry Records. 1st series, p. 305.
(b) Castleisland.

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London from every Government minion in the land, uncertain or fearful for his own safety. An officious and important individual, Justice Walshe, keeps the Government diligently informed of things in the South. But his accounts only aggravate the trouble. He speaks of the triumphal march of Desmond through Kildare, tells that he put on Irish garments at Lough Gur,—a special offence, speaks of the many castles taken by the mighty rebel, and as if to add sting to the bitterness, says, "The castle of Adare is stored with friars." I give one of his letters *in extenso*. The original is in the State Paper Office, and endorsed "Justice Walshe's letter to the Lo. Deputy 5 of Decemb. 1573":—

"My dutie remembred. I have declared unto Mr. Deane of Christe Churche and the Queen's Sollicitor Mr. Bath of the progresse that the Erle of Desmonde hath taken which they promised to certifie yo^r^ Lordship. *He huth beene mett at Knockdalton with 400 kerne and shott of the Mores.* Thence he tooke his jorney, being in Englyshe apparell, with a yeoman named Morish O'Shieghan in like aray, and two Irishe horsemen throughe the countie of Tipperarie and passed through James Tobin's and the olde Ladie of Dunboines townes, and came to the Countesse to Bealandrohid on Thursdaie last, his horses were tyred and there had he ix freshe hackneyes delyvered unto him. Thence went he and the Countesse toward Lough Gwir where a nombre of the freeholders of the Countye of Lymericke met him: he and his wyfe put on Irishe raymente and made a proclamacon that no cessor nor conistable nor sheriff should ever exercise theire office in his contreye. On Saturday last Edmond Fitz Davie to whose keeping Captain Bourchier did delyver the castle of the Glan since my Lo: President's departure did take Castleton in Kenrie. On Mondaie night which was a daie before

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I could come to the countie of Corcke (for waters) was Ballymartir taken, by the Seneschall of Imokilly and Kerrye Mac Gragh with onlie half an hour's assaulte. Meyn, a castle of Sir Thomas of Desmond, was on Thursdie assaulted by James Fitzmorrice and it is reported that castle is taken and he wounded in the leg, and dyvers other castles are taken in the county Lymericke. What protestation soever the Erle doe make of his loyaltie these things cannot come of good intencon for there is none that hath attempted anie thing but he that is wholly ruled by the Erle and who durst not attempt anie such thing before his coming. He will dallye out the matter if fayre speeches be taken. And yet I wot not what maie be called a seeking to disinherit her Ma^tie more than this if yo^r Lordship do not make a present jorney hither moast castles that they covet will be taken and dyvers broken. I have sent to Castlemayne to warne them to stand to their garde and muste with as moche haste as maie be help to warde dyvers Castells in this countie. And thus wishinge a goode and speedie end to these trobles I take my leve. Att Castellyehan this xxiii*d* day of Novembre 1573.

"yo^r Lordshipps to commande,

"Nicholas Walshe."

The friends of the Earl around Castle Magne are not idle, but what chance of taking a stronghold that stood such a stout siege against Perrott?

There are now at the castle twelve men all told, the Vice-Constable, and nine otners, all English, and two masons recently arrived from Cork for repairs of the castle. Andrew Herbert, brother of the Constable, was in charge. John Herbert went to England for provisions, and was back in Cork about the middle of November. He hears with consternation of the Earl of Desmond's escape from Dublin, and instantly despatches in hot haste four

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messengers, one after another, to Castle Magne, for his horses, and with letters to the ward to stand firm, whilst he makes ready to send round provisions by sea to the Castle. McCarthy Mor, with a show of loyalty, writes to the Constable that they had provisions at the castle, and that things there were all right. Still no letter from the Ward, no horses, no messengers. At last, after a fortnight's agonizing suspense, he sends his servant, Dominic Miagh, to Castle Magne, disguised in Kerne's apparel, and he himself proceeds by water, not, however, without being assured for his comfort by McCarthy Mor, that seven boats were on the look-out for him at Dingle. Miagh arrives safely at Castle Magne, and no doubt gives proper directions to the Ward to guard against surprise. The Ward cannot see any grounds for this anxiety. Nay, to vary the monotony of life within the castle, they spend the evenings among friendly neighbours. This "going in and out" vexes the soul of Dominic Miagh. But worse still, there is what he calls "a churl or drudge," who is Irish, employed at the castle to bring water and firewood, and do sundry jobs. He is permitted to remain at night within the castle, and having frequently to pass in and out the gates, has the free use of the keys. This "churl" Miagh neither loves nor likes, and plucking up courage one night, he thrusts him out of the castle until morning. He becomes bolder after this, and goes straight to the Vice-Constable, and charges him to his face with the lax discipline he has been keeping among the Ward. Herbert snatches up a firebrand and belabours Miagh on the head and shoulders until his honour and dignity are vindicated. Did he not each night lock the castle gates with his own hand, and were not the keys each night under his pillow while he slept? What more could a faithful Vice-Constable do?

Meanwhile there is enthusiasm around at the return of Desmond, and much rejoicing, and "usquebagh" flows

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freely, of which the Ward of course have their share, and time passes pleasantly at the castle.

On the night of the 24th December, the Ward have retired to rest, and the careful Vice-Constable has seen to the gates. After midnight thirty men march quietly up to the gate of the castle. Instantly a figure appears within and cautiously unlocks the inner gate, and next unlocks the outer gate. The thirty men enter quickly and take possession of every passage and room in the castle. The guard are overpowered and secured. Dominic Miagh is dragged from his bed, and his hands and feet are bound in heavy chains, and next morning Desmond's flag floats proudly from the battlements. Word is sent to the prior of Killagha close by, and he and his brethren come and offer a Mass of Thanksgiving on that Christmas morning, that its rightful Catholic owner is once more master of Castle Magne. Desmond, who had been in Castleisland, comes quickly on the scene. He takes formal possession of the place, and appoints his Constable and Ward. Andrew Herbert and his men are kept prisoners in the castle for some days, and finally discharged. Dominic Miagh is sent to [c] Ballingown Castle, and after a fortnight is tried by the Earl of Desmond and condemned to be hanged. The Countess Clancarthy, Desmond's sister, happens to be at the castle on a visit to her brother when Miagh is brought out for execution. The Countess comes forward and pleads for his pardon. Pardon is granted, and Dominic Miagh goes forth from the castle free once more.

The surprise or betrayal of Castle Magne caused much irritation in England, and a Government Inquiry into the case was held the following year. The principal testimony seems to be that of Dominic Miagh, which I here give, as copied from a document in the State Paper Office. The

c—Kerry Records 1st s. 312.

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questions are not given which have elicited the following replies:—

EXAMINATION OF DOMINIC MIAGH, HERBERT'S MAN.

"1. That he went with his said wyfe, etc., as is conteyned in the Interrogatorie.—2. That he knoweth not the verie tyme when his master went oute of Ireland for the sayd provision: but that it was before Michaelmas last and in companie with a gallie with Sir John Parret who then came owt of Irelande and that his master and he returned about Allhallowstide and landed at Youghill and that his master sent a man to Castle Magne to know what state it stoode in and to brying him horses from the sayde Castle and that his master and he were in Youghill about a fortnight and that no messenger came from Castle Magne to his master being the forsayd time in Youghill, but that his master understoode being in Youghill by lres from the E. of Clancare that the castle was in good state for vittal—his master was more than a se'nnith in Corcke before he hearde of the newes of the Erle of Desmond's escape, and that as sone as he heard thereof he sent ii or three one after another with letters to his underconestibles namely John MacMorris, Thomas Husey, and Dermyd McDonoghe, and shortly after this examinate disguised in Kerne's apparell whoe fownd the foresayd messingers without the sayd Castle because the Englishe within had worde from his master not to truste anie Irishe.—6. That there weare xi in the Castle besydes himself, whereof ix were shott,

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the other ii masons hired in Corcke immediately uppon his master's comying thither: the names of the ix aforesayd he sayethe weare Andrewe Harbert, brother to his master, Walter Harbert cosen to his master, Thomas Palmer, James Palmer, Henrie Littleton, Robert Denis, one Whittock, Davie Gogen, and the name of the ixth he rememberth not. And the names of the masons weare Bryan Buiye and McLaughlin. That Henrie Littleton and James Palmer weare the chiefe betrayers of the sayd Castel and often went owt and in and parleed with the rebells who was suffred by the sayd Andrew Herbert, Underconestable of the sayd Castle, wh Andrewe beinge tould of his ill dealying in this behalf by this examinate, was moche offended with this examinate and beat him the sayd examinate with a firebrand. Also this examinate saythe he put forth of the Castell a churl or drudg that sarved to carie water and woode with his wyfe one whole night, wh was also a peece of the cawse that the sayd Andrewe did soe beate the examinate, and that the sayd Andrewe receaved the next day the sayd drudg, being an Irish man, who was the man that opened the gates to the enemie in the night by counterfaite keyes. That he thincketh the sayd Andrew Harbert, James Palmer, and Henric Litleton be nowe in Thomand or with Sir Brian Mac Phelim. That by the voyce of the contrie Henrie Litleton and James Palmer receaved XXX*l.* in ould money for their treason. That Robert Denis and Whittock now serve Captaine Bowser, and the rest are about Corcke having been examined but no fault found in them to this examinate's knowledge.—7. That the Erle of Desmond toke him in his bed in the castle and kept him prisoner a fortnight in Hollenhowe Castle forteen myls offe and after brought him to the gallows, where he had been hanged, but for the entreatie of the Erle of Clancare's wyf, sister to the Erle of Desmond, and Mr James Fitz Edmonde, who after he was thus saved and delivered came

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streight to Corcke wher he found not his master who was gon from Corck abowt by sea, with his vittals towards the sayd Castlemaigne. That the E of Clancare's wyfe came to the foresayd Castle wher this examinate was psoner to see hir brother the E of Desmond.—8. That he knows not of the corruption but had greate suspition thereof, for that there was such going in and oute etc. as he hath declared in answeare to the 6th interragotorie."

(To be Continued).



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Bibliographia Kerriensis.

A List of the Topographical and Other Separately-Published Works Relating to the County of Kerry.

Compiled by James Coleman, M.R.S.A.I.

The purpose of the present list is to show at a glance the books,—for the most part topographical ones,—that have so far been published in reference to the Kingdom of Kerry. From the list it will be seen that whilst a very large number of works have been written on Killarney, owing to its forming one of the most famous beauty-spots in Europe, most of the localities in the County Kerry which considerably surpass it in archæological and historic interest are as yet awaiting their historian. But it is to be hoped that the establishment of the Kerry Archæological Association will lead, through the columns of its Journal at least, to those long-neglected archælogical and historic centres finding at last some patriotic native or resident to place on record those notable episodes, events, or antiquarian features connected with them that have so well entitled the remainder of Kerry to become better known and visited, and more adequately elucidated,

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illustrated and described in book form than has heretofore been the case:—

A Specimen of Topographical and Historical Description of the County of Kerry. By Bryan O'Connor. Limerick, 1751.

The History of Kerry. By Dr. Charles Smith. Dublin, 1756 and 1774.

The History of Kerry. By Miss Cusack (The Nun of Kenmare). (Dublin printed) London, 1871.

Selections from Old Kerry Records, Historical and Genealogical with Notes. By Miss Mary Agnes Hickson. (Two series) London, 1872 and 1874.

Sketches in Ireland Descriptive of Donegal, Cork and Kerry. By C. O. (Rev. Cæsar Otway). Dublin, 1839.

Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry in the Year 1845. Dublin, 1849.

Account of the Ancient Stone Amphitheatre in Kerry, with Fragments of Irish History Relating Thereto. By General Vallancey. Dublin, 1812.

The Kingdom of Kerry. By M. P. Ryle. Dublin, 1899.

The Lakes and Fiords of Kerry. A recent pamphlet issued by the Great Southern and Western Railway Co.

The Kerry Pastoral. In Imitation of the First Eclogue of Virgil. Edited, with introduction and notes, by Thomas Crofton Croker. London, 1843.

The Kerry Magazine. A Journal of Antiquities, Polite Literature, Criticism, Poetry, etc. Edited by (the late) Archdeacon Rowan. 3 Vols. all published. Tralee, 1854-5-6.

King's History of Kerry. Published by J. King, H.M.C. Liverpool, 1907.

Kerry (Little Guide Series). By Captain Crane, R.M., D.S.O. London: Methuen, 1907.

Tales of the Fairies and of the Ghost World.

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Collected from oral tradition in South and West Munster (County Kerry). By Jeremiah Curtin. London, 1895.

ARDFERT.

Ardfert Cathedral, County Kerry. Drawn and Lithographed by Arthur Hill, with Plates and Photos. Cork, 1870. (See also Brendaniana).

BALLYBUNION.

An Account of the Caves of Ballybunion, County Kerry. By William Ainsworth, with engravings. Curry and Co., Dublin, 1834.

BRENDAN.

St. Brendan, a medieval legend of the sea in verse and prose. Edited by Thomas Wright. London, 1844.

Acta Sancti Brendani: Original Latin Documents Connected with the Life of St. Brendan, Patron of Kerry and Clonfert. Edited by Cardinal Moran. Dublin, 1872.

BRENDANIANA.

St. Brendan: his Voyages in Story and Legend. By the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue, P.P., Ardfert. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1893. (This book contains much matter published in the two preceding works. A second edition of it has been since published.

DARRYNANE.

Darrynane in 1832, and Other Poems. By Ellen FitzSimon, daughter of Daniel O'Connell. Dublin, 1863.

DINGLE.

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COUNTY KERRY NEWSPAPERS OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY.

I am anxious for information on this subject, and perhaps some of your readers could and would afford it. Is there in existence a file of the "Kerry Evening Post" or any volume of it prior to 1801? Was it started in 1774 or in 1780? Who was the printer of it and where was it printed? Miss Cusack says that there was a still earlier newspaper, viz—"The Kerry Journal." Is there any copy of even one number extant? In 1784 there existed the "The Kerry Chronicle." Any information about it will be welcomed. Was "Chute's Western Herald" printed in Kerry, and when did it begin? Was it in 1795 or 1800?

E. R. McC DIX.

17 Kildare-street, Dublin.

DINGLE.

While studying in the British Museum last spring, I came across a curious little pamphlet published in the year 1674. It had a long title, which ran as follows:—

"A True and Perfect Account of the Miraculous Sea "Monster or Wonderful Fish lately taken in Ireland,

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"bigger than an Ox, yet without Legs, Bones, Fins, or "Scales, with two Heads, and ten Horns of ten or eleven "foot long, on eight of which Horns there grew knots "about the bigness of a cloak-button, in shape like "Crowns or Coronets, to the number of 100 on each Horn, "which were all to open, and had rows of Teeth within "them, and in all other parts wonderful and unparall'd.

"Together with the manner how it first appeared and "was taken at a place called Dingleclough, in the West "of Ireland, and since brought to Dublin, to be shown "publicly; and all other material circumstances relating "thereto.

"Faithfully communicated by an eye-witness. "Printed by P. Brooksby and W. Whitwood, 1674."

Then follows an account of the capture of this strange creature, and the fact that it made no resistance was noted. On the whole, I was inclined to look on the account as a fairy tale, until I discovered a rough woodcut, which represented—a large octopus!

C. H.

McCARTHY GARALOCH.

I should be much obliged for any information regarding the family of MacCarthy Garaloch, who reside, or did reside, in or about Kilgarvan (and probably elsewhere), i.e., from what sept they are sprung, and any other particulars. One of the family was Alexander MacCarthy, who was killed in a duel by James Raymond, of Tralee, in 1816 or 1817. Many of the family have intermarried with the Mahonys of Castlequin and Cullinagh, O'Donoghues, Baldwins, etc. I rather think that the late Alexander MacCarthy, solicitor, Killarney, was of the family.

S. T. McCARTHY.

All communications to be addressed to the Editor, Miss Hussey, Aghadoe House, Killarney.

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UERIES.

GREE.

A. =THOMAS FITZGERALD. D
ET. =RICHARD BARRY.

THOMASIN, dau. of Peirce De Lacy of Dromada, co. Limerick.

JAMES MAHON of Batterfield co. Kerry.

CATHERINE.

LLEN, minor in 1746.

MARGARET, minor in 1746.

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No. 2 APRIL, 1900.

Kerry Archaeological Magazine.





Carving from Ardfert Cathedral.

Pillar from Doorway at Aghadoe.

Contents

	PAGE
Story of Castle Magne (Part II.) By Rev. J. Carmody, P.P.	49
Ancient Names of Ireland ... By M. J. Byrne	80
Battle of Knockanure	84
Round Towers of County Kerry	95
Corthuea Cup-and-Circle Stone By the Editor	103
Forgotten Dead By Miss Rowan	106
Notes and Queries	113
List of Members	115





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No. 4 APRIL, 1909.

Kerry Archæological Magazine.

FITZGERALD EARL OF DESMOND

FITZMAURICE LORD KERRY

Carving from Ardfert Cathedral.

Pillar from Doorway at Aghadoe.

M'CARTHY MOR

FITZGERALD KNIGHT OF KERRY

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Story of Castle Magne (Part II.) By Rev. J. Carmody, P.P.	49
Ancient Names of Ireland ... By M. J. Byrne	80
Battle of Knockanure	84
Round Towers of County Kerry	95
Cortbuee Cup-and-Circle Stone By the Editor	103
Forgotten Dead By Miss Rowan	106
Notes and Queries	113
List of Members	115

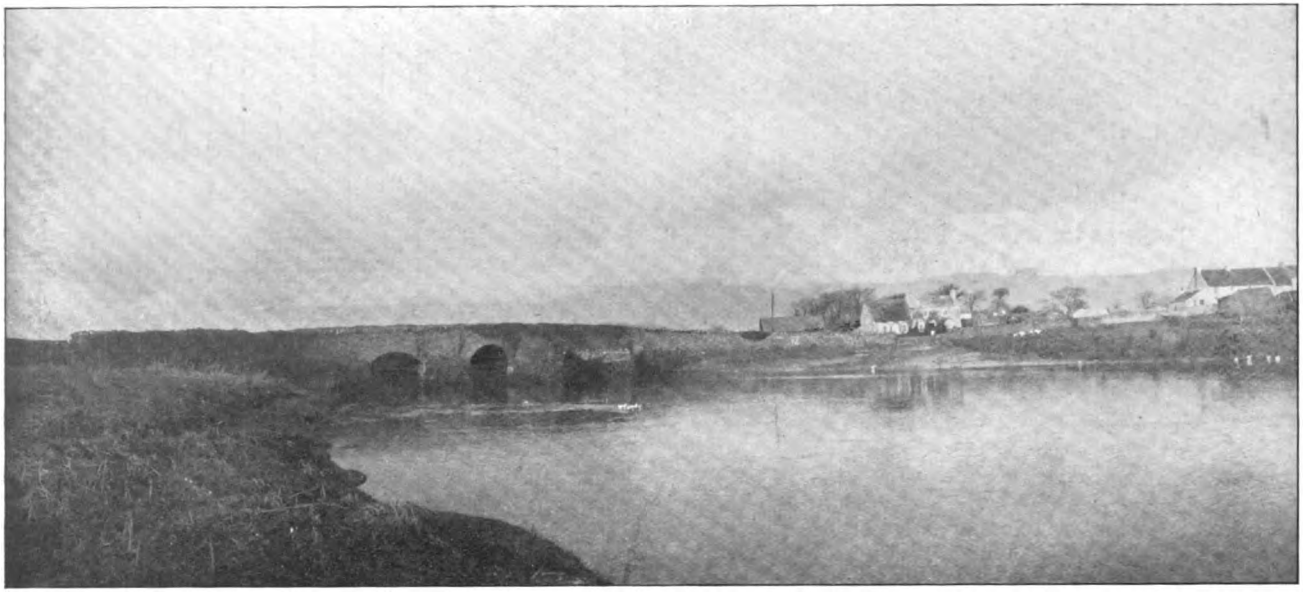
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CASTLEMAINE BRIDGE (Seen from the East).

Taken by Major J. McGillycuddy.

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Story of Castle Magne, Co. Kerry.

BY THE REV. JAMES CARMODY, P.P.

(*Continued.*)



ESMOND is once more Lord in Munster. Castle Magne is in his hands, and Perrott's great achievements in the south have been rendered fruitless. He realises to the full, however, the seriousness of recent events, for which he will be held responsible, and he tries to smooth over difficulties with the Government. The situation was no easy one, nor was Desmond well fitted to cope with it. He was naturally rash and self-willed, and now smarting under past wrongs; still after his long imprisonment he had no wish to come into collision with the Government; neither had Elizabeth, just yet, a desire to force into rebellion a chieftain whose name was a talisman in Munster. On the third day after Christmas Desmond wrote to Chief Justice Walshe a most friendly note:—

"Mr. Justice—I recommend me to you. Since the receipt of your letter of the xxth of this month certain of my men have taken the Castle of the Mayne, and as the

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same was taken without my consent, so I thought good to apprehend the takers and also to put my Ward in the Castell until I receive resolutions of my letters sent to the Queens Matie and ye Honorabel Council And so fare you well from the Island of Kerrie this xxviii of December 1573.

"Yor lovinge friende,

"GERROT DESMOND."

The Queen became duly informed of what had taken place in Munster,—all her castles taken, her authority gone, and Desmond now the only ruler in the land. On the 31st January she wrote Fitzwilliam an angry letter complaining of Desmond's undutiful behaviour in taking Castle Magne, reproves the Deputy for lying still in Dublin and allowing the Earl "scope to do what he list," and adds, "If the Earl, after conference held with our servant Edward Fitzgarrard, shall not render himself simply and without condition to our order, and give up all our castles, you shall confer with the Council how you may best make head against him." The Queen felt it necessary to make this show of firmness against Desmond, but she took good care the Deputy would not bring matters to an issue with him. Accordingly the Privy Council hasten to inform Fitzwilliam that "Her Majesty's intention has been to reduce him to obedience by a merciful means rather than by force." Meanwhile Fitzgarret held a conference with the Earl on behalf of Her Majesty, and as a result Desmond put away his gallowglass, and offered to give his security to the Earl of Essex to keep the peace. Negotiations so far satisfactory. A schedule with six interrogatories was then drawn up, one of which was—Whether he was willing to disband all his forces and companies, and to give up Castle Magne and Ballymartyr. (14)

14. Ballymartyr, now Castlemartyr, between Midleton and Youghal. The remains of the old Desmond stronghold are still to be seen, and owned once more by a member of the old Geraldine stock.

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Desmond agreed to sign the six articles; but then fresh articles were put forward, and these he would not sign. The Earls of Essex and Kildare approached him and tried by every means to win him over to submission, but he remained obdurate. The situation became critical, and the Lord Deputy and Council prepared to take the field. On the 1st August a Proclamation was drawn up offering £1,000 reward, and a pension of £40 for life, to whoever would bring in Desmond alive; or half the reward, and half the pension, to the person who would bring in his head. Hopes of a settlement seemed now at an end. As a last resource, however, Essex again went to the Earl to implore him to submit. At the last moment Desmond yielded; he agreed to sign all the articles at the Queen's pleasure, and on the 3rd September repaired to Cashel, and made his submission to the Lord Deputy. This happy result gave entire satisfaction, and the Proclamation was cancelled. Desmond disbanded his forces, and delivered up Castle Magne to Captain Apsley. Elizabeth was delighted with the issue, and wrote a letter of thanks to Fitzwilliam for his success in reducing Desmond to submission.

For the present, war, and in those savage times, its invariable accompaniment, promiscuous slaughter, were happily averted.

How long this was to continue we shall see. Captain Apsley was made Constable at the Castle. Among the State Papers, in a Memorandum entitled "Charges of Ireland ending last of March, 1576," this entry is given: "William Appsley, Constable of Castle Magne, 3 horsemen, 13 footmen." When his service expired is not certain, but we find Andrew Martyn discharging the duties of Constable in 1579.

Things looked now settled in Munster. Desmond made many professions of loyalty to Elizabeth, and appearances gave hope of a continuance of peace. The

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Earl was naturally anxious to recover his former power and influence, and as not a single fort of importance remained with him, he longed to recover Castle Magne. Accordingly, on the 15th February, 1578, he "petitioned to be restored to the possession of Castle Magne, and that certayn abbey lands belonging to Her Majesty in Kerry be granted to him and his heirs for ever in fee-farm." Desmond was evidently not aware of the importance the Government had learned to attach to this stronghold. After Sir John Perrott had returned to England in 1573 he was ordered by the Queen to make a report of the state of this Province. This he did, and among the "necessarie considerations for the quiette mayntayning of the State of Munster" is the following—"That the Castle of the Magne may be re-edified, which will be done with one 200 markes [15] charge, and that the Priory of Kylla [16] be annexed to it, whereby it will mayntayn the Captain and twelve men, defraying her Majestie's charge for the keeping thereof, which should not be suffered to pass from the crowne, because it will always master Kerrie and the Earl of Clancartie's country." "This advice seems to have been duly attended to," says a writer in the "Kerry Magazine," "and so the petition of Desmond lies in the State Paper Office with a note on it in Burleigh's own hand:—

> 'The Council of Englonde doth not think it convenient, for sondrie good consideracions that the said Castel be restored to the possession of the Erle, or of anie subject.'"

Later on, as we shall see, the Queen did contemplate giving up the place, but ultimately decided on holding it, influenced probably by the advice of Perrott.

The peace of Munster was not of long duration. Soon reports reached Dublin that Desmond was again

15 The value of the old English Mark was 13s. 4d.
16 Kylla was the Abbey of Killagha, now Kilcoleman.

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making himself troublesome. The fact was, the Earl had many enemies, who were but too anxious to represent him as a danger to the Government. It may be more truly said his great sin lay in being owner of 574,628 acres of the fairest land in Munster, for which he was in receipt of the enormous rental,—£9,039 2s. 5½d. "He had a prodigious revenue," says Richard Cox[17] "for those times, and perhaps greater than any other subject in her Majesty's dominions." Many looked with a covetous eye on his vast possessions, and it was their dearest wish that he should rise in revolt. When Shane O'Neill rebelled in Ulster, Elizabeth in a letter to Lord Sussex wrote: if O'Neill should rise, "it would be for the advantage of her liege subjects, for there will be estates for them who want." Nor was the lesson lost on her liege subjects now. Ireland had been the happy hunting ground of landless English gentlemen since the Invasion. Strongbow did well, Hugh de Lacy did well, de Mariseo did well. Were ambition and love of adventure dead in the breasts of English gentlemen of that day? Surely not. "A number of English gentlemen," says the historian, Froude, "chiefly from Somersetshire and Devonshire, twenty-seven in all, volunteered to relieve Elizabeth of her trouble with Ireland. . . . They insisted they must have the whole coast-line from the mouth of the Shannon to Cork harbour included in their grant. . . . The Irish it is true," he graciously adds, "were not wholly savages; they belonged as much as the English themselves to the Aryan race; they had a history, a literature, laws, and traditions of their own, and a religion that gave half Europe an interest in their preservation; but it is no less certain that to these intending colonists they were of no more value than their own wolves, and would have been exterminated with equal indifference." *They must have the whole coast-line from*

17 Cox-Hibernia Anglicana, p. 392.

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the mouth of the Shannon to Cork harbour: Desmond and McCarthy Mor, serious news for you! Desmond became aware of the danger; for the colonization scheme, we are told, soon leaked out. There remained for him no remedy, however, but to await events; though with the determination, should the worst come, that he would not yield his all without a struggle. But the Government had other concern besides the colonization scheme at this particular time. "In the Netherlands," (18)Leland says, "Elizabeth encouraged discontent against the Spanish monarch, and in retaliation, Philip stirred up rebellion in Ireland." Indeed Ireland just then was threatened with a Spanish invasion. Rumours of it were on every tongue. Andrew Martyn was Warden at the Castle, and he kept the Government diligently informed of reports that were current. James Fitzmaurice—called by the English the Arch Traitor,—the most indefatigable and resourceful of all the Munster chiefs, was at this time abroad seeking aid from the Catholic powers of the Continent. The Irish indeed had little reason to love Elizabeth's rule. If forebodings should come true, they saw nothing before them but extermination and ruin. "The Irish," says Froude, "were not to be blamed if they looked to the Pope, to Spain, to France, to any friend in earth or heaven, to deliver them from a power which discharged no single duty that rulers owe to subjects." The Irish *did* look to the Pope and to Spain, and a Spanish invasion seemed the danger of the hour. In the ministerial correspondence of the day there is frequent mention of it. Reports came ever and anon of ships seen along the western sea-board, but they proved false alarms. The custodian at the castle was not sleeping, but watching. On a certain day alarming news came from the west. Rumour said that a Spanish force had landed

18. Leland 2nd vol. p. 275.

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on the coast, and this time indeed rumour spoke the truth. It was ascertained that on the 17th July, 1579, James Fitzmaurice, with six Spanish vessels, entered Dingle Harbour: next day he left, went around by Slea Head, and entered Smerwick Harbour, which lies on the northern shore of Dingle promontory, where he disembarked, and took possession of a narrow headland, known as Fort del Ore. Andrew Martyn had early intelligence of this, but was utterly helpless: he was short of provisions; he expected his castle to be attacked at any moment, and was in no condition to repel attack. He sent earnest entreaty to the Mayors of Cork and Waterford to come quickly to his relief with men and provisions, and writes in conclusion: "I stande to the courtesie of the Erle of Desmond and my Lord of Glanker, to send me some fleshe." There was evidently a great want of foresight somewhere. This landing was expected, and some provision might have been made to guard the coast. Castle Magne, a probable objective for attack, might have been put in a fit condition to resist, but it could not hold out a week. Such was the serious situation; but alarm gave way to intense satisfaction when it was discovered that Fitzmaurice's force was so insignificant. He had only 80 Spaniards on board. A sigh of relief went up from one and all Her Majesty's Ministers in Ireland. The Spaniards marched inland and dispersed themselves through the country; Fitzmaurice went to rally the disaffected in Connaught and the North, but on the way had an encounter with the Burkes of Castleconnel, in which he was mortally wounded. One formidable enemy of Elizabeth was thus removed, though this did not allay anxiety. Desmond's brothers were in revolt in Munster, and hundreds joined their standard. The Earl took no part in his brothers' rebellion; he gave the Government early information of the landing of James Fitzmaurice; he gave up his only son to Sir William Drury as a hostage for his

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loyalty; still he was treated as if he were an avowed enemy. After Drury's death, Sir Nicholas Malby entered his territory, murdered his retainers, and dishonoured the graves of his ancestors at Askeaton Abbey. Desmond forwarded a memorial to the Queen protesting against this treatment. The reply was that he was proclaimed traitor on the 2nd November, 1579. He now wandered abroad with a price upon his head, and Munster again, for the next four years, was to be the theatre of internecine and inhuman strife.

But the last had not been heard of a Spanish invasion; and in the spring of 1580 rumours of it were again rife. Andrew Martyn kept clamouring for supplies and for men, but got neither. Castle Magne, the great centre in these parts to which the Queen's forces in time of stress might turn for assistance, was itself in sad plight for food. The fleet, anchored at Dingle in early spring, was requisitioned to send supplies to the castle; the fleet, however, was suddenly ordered off, and no food arrived. Pelham wrote on the 21st March to Andrew Martyn: "We are disappointed of our victuals by the sudden going "of the ships from Dingle, but the Earl of Ormond will "visit you this day to take order for your victualling." On the 3rd April Pelham wrote a letter—and an offensive one—to the Baron of Lixnaw: "I require you not only to convey with all speed and safety this enclosed letter to Andrew Martyn to Castle Magne, but also that you do send unto him such relief of victuals as he shall require." In like tone, no doubt, were his letters to McCarthy Mor; but Donal, to his credit, took little notice of the man. Martyn could not get on without food, however, and getting none, he made his complaint to the Council in London; they ordered Pelham to see to the fortress at once. Pelham assured them he had given directions to McCarthy Mor and to Fitzmaurice to victual the place, and that Ormond was coming from Cork with stores.

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But this supply of Ormond's could not last for ever, and soon again Martyn asked for more food, more men. Pelham promised an increase of the Ward, *and promised food as soon as the wind proved favourable*—poor satisfaction for a hungry man! At long last, on the 13th April, Pelham was able to inform the Council in London that Captain Thornton with the "Handmaid" had gone up the bay from Ventry to victual Castle Magne. A humorous[19] account of this expedition appears in the "Kerry Magazine." The writer says: "On coming to shoal water, Captain Thornton made a requisition to the Earl of Clancare, for boats to enable him to land the provisions; the Earl replies:

'Kilhoriglan (Killorglin) 29th April, 1580.

I have no boats, pinnaces, or other convenience to enable you to victual Castle-Magne; but you may take as many men as you will for the service, if this will like you.

I was myself at Castle-Magne the 26th of this month and relieved the Ward with fleshe at the time. You shall be bold to travel my countrie in any place, because they be subject to her Majestie and to me; therefore, I am to desire you to be good to them.—if you lack anything write of it to me that you may be helped thereto. and leving to trouble you further I am from Kilhoriglan, the 29th April, 1580.

your friend in anie wise:

'DONAYL CLANCARE.'

"This characteristic letter," says the writer, "from the old Irish chieftain, half subject, half sovereign, boasting of his people being obedient to 'her Majestie and to me,' though offering kindness and protection, was couched in too patronising a tone to suit the high spirit

19. Kerry Magazine vol. 1 p. 117.

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of the English commanders; for we find it laid up in the State Paper Office, as an inclosure from the English Admiral to the Prime Minister, with this note:—

'Sir William Winter to Lord Burleigh
May the 7th on Board the Revenge,
in the Roade of Ventrie.

Herewith I send your Lordship two letters, one written by Sir James of Desmond—and the other, written by the proud beggar Mac Cartie Mor! to Captain Thornton.'"

This year 1580 was an anxious one for the Government, and an eventful one for Ireland. Secret information tells of armaments in preparation in Spain and forces ready to embark for Ireland. Two Spanish vessels landed men at Dingle on the 26th February, it is believed to get news of the progress of the rebellion in Munster, and left again for Spain on the 1st March. Clearly the last had not been heard of the hostile intentions of King Philip. But now the Government had made provision against surprise, and Admiral Winter had been keeping strict watch during these summer months along the coasts of Cork and Kerry. Lord Justice Pelham, too, held himself in readiness. He was now in Limerick directing operations in disturbed Munster, and was anxious to pay a visit to the Spanish fort at Smerwick. A curious and detailed account of the expedition is left us by the gossiping Justice Walshe, whom we have already known. On the 17th July Pelham passed into McAuley's country in Duhallow, destroying everything with fire.(90) He proceeded by Newmarket, down by Ardnagragh into Cordal, and reached Kilcusnan, two miles east of Castleisland, that evening.

Soon Pelham got word that Desmond's cattle were being driven from Castleisland towards the hills. He followed with some horsemen and foot soldiers, took 1500 head of cattle, and nearly captured the Earl,

90. Ware's Annals.

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the Countess, and Dr. Saunders. "On the 18th thence to Castle Magne, where we camped that night to the great comfort of the Ward, who was kept in close by the traytors and a certain sept of the Erle's followers dwelling on the river Mange called the O'Moriarties." On the 19th they encamped at Inch, "where my Lord Justice and I did practice our best skill to gather cockles for our supper." On the 20th reached Dingle. 21st they visited Fort del Ore. "James of Desmond did cut a neck of the rock from the mainland, to make it the stronger, it lieth equal with the mainland having a hole, with grete labour, digged into it." They went on board the fleet, where they "had grete entertainment," and sent a pinnace from the fleet to Castle Magne with supplies. The 23rd they returned to Castle Magne, where they "found the pynace of the victuals at the Castle syde, and the master, which guided her thither, told my Lord Justice that he had sounded the channel, and durst undertake to bring a ship of 100 tons within a stone's cast of the Castel; and, truly, it is built on a notable place to rule both the counties of Kerry and Desmond, on both sides of the river of Mange." They stay two days at the Castle. On the 26th, "after storing Castle-Magne with victuals, we marched thence towards Cork—and camped that night by the fair river of Laune, between 'the Palace,' one of Clancartie's chief houses, and Dunlogh, a house of O'Sullivan More's razed by the Erle of Ormond." Pelham was evidently anxious to make amends for his past neglect of the Ward at the Castle, for on his return from Dingle to Castle Magne on the 24th July, he writes to Sir Henry Wallop: "Send to Castle Magne 25 tuns of Gascon wine and sack and biscuit. The soldiers have no bread, drink, hose or shoes, or money to buy them." On the same day, and from the Castle, he wrote to the Mayor of Galway, about whom he has clearly heard some unpleasant tales. He had already ordered this same Mayor to send a supply of provisions to the Castle. Wine and beer went

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out from Galway in ship-loads, and the destination was ostensibly Castle Magne; by some mistake, however, they found their way to Pelham's camp. Pelham would have it there was no mistake, and said as much to the Lord Mayor. "I wonder," he writes, "why you have not according to my letters, sent to Castle Magne the 20 tuns of sack, and five of claret wine. I disallow of your sending continually wine and other relief, in your pinnaces and galleys, to those Munster traitors who are thus greatly refreshed."

It would seem after all there was to be no Spanish invasion that year; so at least Admiral Winter thought, and Vice-Admiral Bingham shared his view. They have been resting for months round Ventry, and straining their eyes along the sky-line to discover a hostile sail, but none appeared. This rumour of a Spanish invasion was clearly a *ruse de guerre*; and so they prepared to move. By the end of August Bingham left for Plymouth, and Admiral Winter moved southward.

Pelham continued as Lord Justice only on sufferance. He had been hurriedly appointed to the office by the Dublin Privy Council on Drury's death last September, and was likely to be superseded at any moment; but being an ambitious man, wished to distinguish himself before resigning office. Desmond was still at large, and must be secured by Bingham before he gave up his charge. By a quick and simultaneous movement this mighty rebel should certainly be brought to bay; then the capture of Desmond would lend undying glory to Pelham's brief rule.

Desmond was known to be in the vicinity of Castle-island. So, in August, Pelham drew up his plan of attack. Sir George Bourchier in Kilmallock was Colonel in charge of the Munster forces. The great strategist ordered

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Bourchier to,[21] "march upon Tuesday next towards Glanchune and from thence over the mountain into Kerrie, towards the island. Before his forces be passed over Slievelougher, he shall cause his horsemen to break foray into the said island," in view of surprising Desmond, "where not finding the Earl, neither his forces nor his cerreats (sic) he shall from thence hold on the way to Castle Magne. Being arrived there you shall either enter Desmond . . . there to fall on the McSwins and O'Sullivan Mors; or else you shall take your course back again, and shall follow and pursue the Earl of Desmond. [22] The garrison at Asketton, under Captain Cace, shall march the same day towards the Glanns; thence to pass over the mountain to Tralighe, to break foray in like sort, and from Tralighe to draw to Castle Magne." The Baron of Lixnaw is also directed to be there with his forces. [23]"If the Earl of Desmond with his forces shall return, before your march, into any of the parts on this side of the mountain (Slieve Lougher), then shall you, the colonel, prosecute him one way, and Captain Cace shall beat the woods another way; and write to the Lord Fitz Morris to trap either the Earl or his cattle on their passing (back) over the mountain. Limerick 28th August 1580." Signed by Pelham both at the beginning and at the end. A master-stroke, no doubt, but unsuccessful, for Desmond was not trapped.

Admiral Winter had left Ventry as we know, in the conviction that there was no danger of a hostile landing. Still Desmond's followers showed a strange confidence in coming aid from abroad. All uncertainty seemed at an end towards the middle of September; report said that a Spanish force had landed at Dingle. Soon certain news came to hand that four vessels reached Smerwick with 700 Spaniards, who took possession of

21-23. These extracts are all from letters in the State Paper Office except, where they are stated to be from other sources.

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Fort del Ore, which they put in a state of defence,—the old fortress which James Fitzmaurice first prepared." Andrew Martyn got word of the landing, and lost no time in forwarding a note to St. Leger, President of Munster, then in Cork:—

"Right Worshipful. My duty premised, please your Worship to be advertised that I have received intelligence this day from the Knight of Kerrie,(24) that there are four sail of Spaniards landed at Smerwick, also that a grete fleete is to descende on the coast, which news I am bold to write to your Worship hoping that the Admiral (Sir William Winter) is with your Worship, whereupon the intelligence will shortly, with the grace of God, disappoint them.

"From Castle Magne, 13th September 1580.

"ANDREW MARTYN."

Poor faithful, watchful Andrew Martyn! this same landing is big with fate for you, though this to-day you little wot of. But what to do against the invaders, for something must be done, since every moment is precious? Delay means the clans will gather, and this nucleus of an army may swell to proportions who can say how great? Desmond in open revolt with a large following, and supported by Sir John of Desmond; the Lord Deputy not available; no account of Admiral Winter or his whereabouts; such once more was the alarming situation. Vice-Admiral Bingham was hurriedly recalled from Plymouth, but he alone could do little. The Earl of Ormonde, Thierna Duv, man of blood and iron, now in Cork, rushed to the rescue. He passed by Castle Magne. The Warder, who had already shown activity and zeal in the cause of the Queen, was necessarily a leading figure in this expedition, and so accompanied, perhaps directed the party. They were not strong—numbering about 150

24—The Knight of Kerry had a Castle at Gallerus near the Eastern shore of Smerwick Harbour and within a short distance of Fort del Ore,

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men: but they could reconnoitre, even though they might not attack. They found the Spaniards,—about 600 men, strongly entrenched at Fort del Ore. Ormond took 80 soldiers with him towards the Camp, Martyn being apparently associated with him in command.

As they approached there issued quickly from the fort a body of more than a hundred men, who discharged their muskets on Ormond's party. The luckless Andrew Martyn was shot dead, and others no doubt of whom there is no mention.

Ormond beat a hasty retreat. He writes: "I tooke a few of my company with me to take a view of the forte, and drawing near them, there issued from the forte one hundred and twelve Italians and bestowed musket shot on me, at which time Andrew Martyn, Constable of Castle-Magne, being with me was slain. . . . Want of victual, great ordnance, and munitions forced me to leave the place. . . I left six Spaniards at Castel Magne to be examined and otherwise used at my Lord Deputy's pleasure." The six Spaniards were stragglers he picked up on the way.

Ormond's discomfiture and repulse at Smerwick, for such it was, inspired the Spaniards, we are told, with confidence, and they proceeded to strengthen the defences of the fort.

Earl de Grey was at this time in Limerick. He had recently been appointed Lord Deputy—a man of courage and decision. He came to Dublin on the 12th August, and had no sooner landed than he determined to give the Queen's Irish enemies a taste of what a really strong man could do. Lord Baltinglass was now in Wicklow with a strong following. Lord de Grey made ready in all haste to crush him unawares. Baltinglass was encamped at Glenmalure, and De Grey, with a force of picked men, over a thousand strong, proceeded to the mouth of the pass. He formed his party into two divisions, and

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taking his stand at the head of the cavalry on the hill, ordered the footmen to enter and cut up Baltinglass and his followers to a man. The glen was thickly wooded and winding irregularly between steep hills, the ground rocky and uneven, and in places swampy. Everything was still as death when the soldiers entered. They marched gallantly through every obstacle until they reached the middle of the Glen. Suddenly from all sides the Irish, in ambush, delivered a charge into the struggling body, and then another, and another. Confusion and disorder followed; not an effort at resistance; and two-thirds of De Grey's entire force lay corpses in the Glen. "The rebels," says Richard Cox, "being well acquainted with these woods, laid their ambushes so cunningly, that the English could neither fight in that divelish place, nor retire out of it." "De Grey, who had waited the event upon a neighbouring eminence," says Leland, "returned, with the remains of his forces, to the seat of government, covered with confusion and dishonour." Stung by this disaster, De Grey determined by deeds of daring to overshadow, if not efface, the memory of Glenmalure. Proceeding by Limerick, he appeared before the camp at Smerwick on the 7th November. Admiral Winter had come from Kinsale and was in the Harbour; De Grey and Ormond were in joint command by land. Elaborate preparations were made by De Grey, as a vigorous defence was expected. But the commander, Sebastian San Joseph, was a traitor and a coward. He delivered up the place on the third day after scarcely the appearance of a struggle. All the Irish annalists of that time declare the fort was yielded up "on conditions." Whether so or not, there followed the butchery known in history as "the massacre of Smerwick." The Spaniards were disarmed, and then an armed band was led into the camp, and the place was made a shambles with the mangled corpses of six hundred Spaniards,

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"Wingfield," says Leland, "was commissioned to disarm them," and that done, "the garrison was butchered in cold blood, nor is it without pain that we find a service so horrid and detestable committed to Sir Walter Raleigh." The comment of Vice-Admiral Bingham on this blood-curdling tragedy is: "Thus hath my Lord (De Grey) most worthily achieved this enterprise, and so nobly and literally dealt with all sorts that he hath given a great satisfaction and content to all his followers." [25] This is the monster who afterwards became Lord President of Connaught. Castle Magne had now no Constable, and this Bingham wrote to Walsingham recommending one Clynton for the office. He does not appear to have been successful, however, and Captain Cheston was probably the person selected, who had charge of the place up to 1583.

Desmond's old enemy—the Earl of Ormond, had been created Lord General of Munster, and he hunted down Desmond with the tenacity of a sleuth-hound. Ormond's mother, now dead, had been Desmond's first wife. Ormond was the Earl's kinsman in the second and third degree, still he pursued Desmond with Satanic hate. Pardon was promised to everyone, Desmond alone excepted. This had its effect, and many of his followers fell off. Disaster stared him on all sides. His Countess, who clung to his fortunes through all his trials, left him in March, 1583, probably at his own desire, and for her sake; still he had the kindly sympathy of many, high and low. In May he passed close by Castle Magne with a small party. He had no food, neither had he powder. Edward Spring was Vice-Constable. A friendly word came to the Vice-Constable regarding Desmond's circumstances, and the Earl's wants for the nonce were generously supplied. Ormond was promptly

25. Bingham overstates his case. The humane and chivalrous Sir William Winter passed through this service with untarnished honour, and cannot be reckoned as an approver of this atrocious crime.

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informed of the treason. Sir William Stanley was ordered to apprehend Spring, and bring him up for judgment at Sessions held at Limerick before Ormond. Spring made an open avowal of his fault; and—strange and unhoped-for mercy from the man that seemed to know no mercy,—Ormond orders the Vice-Constable to be discharged!

Desmond and his party were now reduced to the utmost straits. "Where they did dress their meat," says Hooker, "thence they would remove to eat it in another place, and from thence go into another place to lie. In the night they would watch; in the forenoon they would be upon the hills and mountains to descry the country, and in the afternoon they would sleep." Ormond had agents stationed at many points to watch Desmond's movements, and lay hands on and secure him. All means of subsistence were gone, and he must needs take by force what was necessary for existence. They were indeed his tenants and subjects on whom he lays tribute, but they acknowledge him lord no longer.

Some three miles north of the direct road from Tralee to Castleisland, and somewhat nearer the latter town, there is a deep narrow glen about two miles long, enclosed on all sides within high hills. The northern side is thickly wooded throughout its whole length to-day as it was three hundred years ago. (26) An old road crosses the wood obliquely at its western end, perhaps for cattle in the uplands to come and drink at the stream in the Glen. This road is known as "Boher-an-Erla" (the Earl's road). The glen is called Glounaneenta (Gloun na dionta—Glen of the cattle sheds). It is as secluded as a glade in the Great Lone Land; its stillness is rarely broken except by the song of the mavis, or the murmur

26. Since the foregoing was written I have heard with sorrow that this lovely glen has been shorn of its crowning glory Within the past few years it has been completely stripped of its beautiful wood. It is sad to think that a scene so interesting should have been thus ruthlessly disfigured

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of the streamlet in the valley. It is hallowed from its associations, and the simple husbandman can tell its history. Mostly in this glen Desmond lay concealed during 1583. "The Earl of Desmond," says Churchill, "accompanied only with seven men and his prieste, who from the tenth of last March (1583) hid them (selves) in a glen within Sleave-Lachra, having no other food for the space of seven weekes, than six plow garrans, whereon they fed without bread, drink, or any other sostenance."

On Saturday, 9th November, 1583, the Earl of Desmond went westward from Glounaneenta "wood near Castle-island" beyond Tramore to Derrymore wood near Bunnow, whence he sent two of his horsemen, Crohore Scully and John Daly, with eighteen Kernes to bring him a prey, while he and John McElligott and two or three footmen stayed at Derrymore. Now, there lived at Cahir-ni-fahye, west of Castle Gregory Castle, beside the sea, a family of the Moriarties[27] who had made themselves very active as henchmen of Ormond's. By the Earl's direction the Kernes went to capture a prey from this family. They took from Maurice Mac Owen and Robert Mac Edmond forty cows, nine horses, with great store of other goods and household stuff, and stripped naked Maurice, his wife, and children, which we may reasonably interpret, stripped half naked, since it is the testimony of an enemy who will not mince his charges. Straightway Maurice prepared to recover the cattle, and sent word to his brothers-in-law—Owen McDonnil Moriarty, and Donnil, Owen's brother who lived at Castle Drum; and sought aid also of Colonel Stanley in Dingle who had charge of the Queen's forces in the district. Stanley directed them to follow the cattle, to call to their aid the Ward

27. It is not certain whether the parties from whom the cattle were taken were Moriarties. Owen Moriarty, who gave the account of Desmond's death, in his examination before the Earl of Ormond on 26th Nov., and was chief actor on the occasion, calls Maurice, his brother-in-law, and says that he and MacEdmond were his tenants.

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of Castle Magne, and promised to muster a band to follow and give them assistance. Owen Moriarty, the younger of the brothers, went to Castle Magne, and besought Captain Cheston to accompany them with his men. Cheston refused to leave his charge, but gave five soldiers to aid the party. "Donnil having eighteen proper Kernes ([28]) in company," whereof two had firearms, went eastward from Castle Drum by the foot of Sleave Mish, probably as far as the present old mountain road, where he remained until he was joined by Owen and the five soldiers; and all proceeded towards Tralee: this was Sunday, 10th November. They hastened on, hoping to intercept the cattle before they crossed the river at Tramore, now Blennerville. On coming to Tralee they found the track of the cattle going eastward to Slieve Loughra. The soldiers now hung back, and said they'd go no farther, but would return to their charge. The energetic Owen, however, persuaded them to stay, "promising them two biefs of the pray" if they were so lucky as to rescue them; if not, he would give them "a bief of his own in respect of their travayle"; the soldiers on these terms agreed to go on. Following the track they reached Ballinorig by daylight, and continued eastward by moonlight as far as Glounaneenta, where they decided to bivouac for the night. After a while Owen and Donnil went on the hill overlooking the glen, probably the present Keelbawn, to see whether "they may discover any fire in the woode or hear any stirre," and having come over the glen, sure enough they saw a fire beneath them. Donnil then crept cautiously on to spy who might be there, and on returning announced that there were persons in a cabin, but that the cattle had not yet arrived. So they decided on postponing attack until

28 Kernes, according to Ware, were light armed foot soldiers; they wore headpieces, fought with darts or javelins, to which a thong was fastened, and also carried swords and knives (sgians). In war their music was the bagpipe.

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the prey and the Earl's party were together. At dawn on Monday, 11th November, the Moriarties and soldiers were astir. Owen and Donnil with a soldier named Daniel O'Kelly took the lead up the glen, the Kernes following and four soldiers last. When they came opposite the hut they rushed towards it with a great cry. Those in the cabin heard them approach, and all made their escape except an old man. Owen "ran throw the the cabbin after the Erle's company." O'Kelly rushed in followed by the Kernes and soldiers, and dealt a blow with his sword at the old man, inflicting a deep wound on the arm. "Hold," said he, "I am the Earl of Desmond; save my life." Owen, who had just returned, made answer: "Thou hast killed thyself long agone, and now thou shalt be prisoner to the Queen's Majesty, and to the Earl of Ormond, Lord General of Munster." Desmond was bleeding, and Owen grasped him by the injured arm, and was hurrying him on, but the Earl was faint and slow; whereupon Owen threatened to cut his head off and take it with them. Donnil then offered to take the Earl on his back, and proposed to the others to do the same in turn. Donnil soon got tired, and let him down. The Earl's party, who had been guarding the cattle on the hill, were now making their appearance. So the company refused to carry Desmond any further, dreading attack. The truculent Owen then ordered Kelly[29] to prepare to cut the Earl's head off, and laying Desmond on the ground, they bared his neck, and Kelly "drawing his sword," severed the head from the body. The sordid pair, Owen and Donnil, instantly took possession of the head,—a prize more valuable than the cattle. They all made haste to Castle Magne, where the brothers

29. Her Majesty, 14th Dec. 1585, "ordered that her well beloved subject and soldier, Daniel Kelly, who slew the late traytor, Desmond, for his very good services therein, should have, at least, for thirty years without fail, so much of her lands, spiritual or temporal, as should amount to thirty pounds sterling per annum." This same Kelly who was so liberally rewarded for his services, was afterwards hanged at Tyburn for highway robbery.

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gave up the head to Cheston for safe keeping "till they had made themselves ready to bring the same to the Lord General." They then sent word to Lieutenant Stanley to apprise him "of their happy successe."(30)

Beside an angle of the old road—Boher-an-Earla,—within the wood, to the right as you descend, is shown the site on which the cabin stood; and further down, in a recess at the opposite side, is the spot where tradition tells the Earl was beheaded. It is believed he was buried where the body lay. Dr. Smith says that after some days the body was removed to another place for interment, lest it should be outraged, and so continued to be removed for eight weeks until it was finally laid to rest in the Geraldine graveyard of Kilananama, near Ardnagraph.

Such were the last days of the great Desmond,—"Ingens rebellibus exemplar." Reduced by cold and hunger to the last extremity of misery, tracked to his poor hut—if tradition be true, by one who was son to his foster-brother,—cut down in his tottering old age by a wretched hireling and highwayman, the chief round whom discontent and disaffection centred for nigh ten disastrous years, had fallen; the last prop of religious freedom and civil right had disappeared, and in less than a fortnight, above gaunt corpses and blackened roof-trees order reigned in Munster. Ormond made all haste to assure his Royal mistress that the great news was true, and to remove all doubt regarding the momentous fact, he presented Her Majesty with Desmond's gory head. He writes on the 28th November:

30. The examination of Owen Mac Donnil O'Moriertagh, taken the 26th November, 1583, of the manner and discourse how the Erle of Desmond was pursued and slayne.

"These things being say'd by othe before the Right Honorable the Erle of Ormonde the Bishop of Oshery, and the Sovereign of Kilkenny." Document in Black Letter in the State Paper Office.

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"I do send Her Highness (for proof of the good success of the service and the happy end thereof) by this bearer, the principal traitor Desmond's head as the best token of the same, and proof of my faithful service and travail."

Next came the division of the immense territory of the murdered Earl. "Never," says a recent writer(31) "since the time of Miles de Cogan, Robert Fitz Stephen, and Philip de Broas—the Undertakers of their day,—had there been such spoil as this for the Undertakers of Elizabeth." There was a feeble voice heard protesting against the partition of the Desmond Palatinate by an individual who claimed to be rightful owner of these lands. They did not belong to Gerrott beheaded at Glounaneenta; he was not the eldest brother, though he usurped the lands and title. Sir Thomas of Desmond who now speaks was eldest brother and rightful owner.

His protest passed unheeded, however, and without delay arrangements were made for the distribution of Desmond's lands. But everything must be done in order. The lands were first surveyed, and divided into Seigniories of 6,000 to 12,000 acres. This done, the Earl was declared attainted and his lands confiscate at a Parliament held on the 28th April, 1586. Forthwith the entire Palatinate was let out to Undertakers on specially favourable terms. Sir Edward Denny got 6,000 acres around Tralee at fourpence an acre, on his "undertaking" to plant twenty English families on the land. Sir Walter Raleigh 12,000 acres in Cork; Sir William Herbert 13,276 acres around Castleisland; Sir Valentine Browne, "one of Her Majesty's Commissioners of the Survey," 8,000 acres, part in the Dingle promontory and part around Killorglin. These he soon surrendered, but received a goodly

31. Life and letters of Florence MacCarthy Mor—page 16.

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equivalent in the lands of O'Donoghue Mor of Ross. Another lucky man was Captain Thomas Spring, who, by Letters Patent dated 24th January, 1584, was appointed Constable of Castle Magne.

After Desmond's death the Constable—Captain Cheston,—claimed the reward promised for the capture of the Earl, but did not receive it. "He is unfavourably referred to," says Miss Hickson, "in Ormond's letters to Burleigh," which accounts for his being soon relieved of his charge. Lord Justice Loftus wrote to Lord Burleigh recommending "the bearer Mr. Michael Bryskett" for the position, but he does not appear to have got it. In December, 1583, Teige McCarthy, who seems to have been a soldier in Elizabeth's army, petitioned to have the keeping of the fortress, as well as a lease in reversion of the "Abbey of Killagha lying in McCarthy Mor's country," but this petition too was disregarded. Finally John Savage secured the post, regarding whom nothing has come down to us beyond his name, and Captain Thomas Spring, as before mentioned, was appointed Constable "during good behaviour." This appointment was confirmed by Letters Patent of Her Majesty in 1587, when he got a lease of Killagha Abbey (now Kilcoleman) for 21 years, together with the extensive possessions belonging thereto; he ultimately got a grant in fee of the Abbey and lands.

And now these fortunate Undertakers settled down to make life happy. "No Irish were permitted to reside on the lands" of the Undertakers, and to protect them from molestation "they were promised that there should be Garisons on their Frontiers." Sir Walter Raleigh received 20 horsemen, towards whose support an ample allowance was granted. Sir Valentine Browne had 20 horsemen on like terms, to guard his possessions in wild

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and remote Kerry. The Undertakers were to pay no rent for three years, and it shall not be their fault if this term is not indefinitely extended. Ned Denny's rent of Tralee was £100. After some years rent and other claims accumulated to £1700, and when asked to pay he memorialized the Queen to have the whole sum remitted. "They were not to pay cess for ever," etc. Such were the favourable conditions under which these good Undertakers began life in Ireland. If they were not happy certainly their Royal mistress was not to blame, and soon there were indications that things were not over-satisfactory with them, nor did the settlers themselves greatly contribute towards their mutual comfort. Sir William Herbert was the real Simon Pure among them. He had a deep concern for the interests of Her Majesty in these parts, and is in no sense pleased with the ways and works of his fellow Undertakers. He had a particular dislike to Sir Valentine Browne, and the Constable of Castle Magne, and had some damaging things to say of Ned Denny, and said them. Sir Valentine Browne facetiously styled him Sir William Hard-beard,—an offence that was not forgotten. Herbert complained that Sir Edward Denny crossed and thwarted him in every wicked way, and "is spurred on by Springe of Castle Magne, assisted by Mr. Browne, and all others in these parts that measure their conscience by their commodity." "They are grown into a combination and resolution against me," he adds, "resembling that mentioned in the 2nd Chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon." Indeed their general behaviour was a source of continual trouble to this pious man. Writing to Lord Burleigh, he says: "I have reason to be aggrieved that Her Majesty is abused with such Undertakers, I associated with such companions, and an honorable action (planting of Munster) disgraced with such lewd, indiscreet, and insufficient men." "My dislike of the proceedings here," he again

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writes to Lord Burleigh, "has drawn upon me the enmity of Sir Valentine Browne, Sir Edward Denny and others of that sort that measure conscience by commodity and law by lust."

Herbert, it would seem, was posing as the great man and the Queen's favourite among the settlers. Sir Edward Denny could not allow these pretensions to pass unchallenged, and does not hesitate to publish to the world that Herbert could do little for himself and still less for others. This irritated Herbert, and he wrote in bitterness to Walsingham: "Hereof it is that Sir Edward Denny mislikes anything that affects me, tells everybody that he will do more for them than twenty Sir William Herberts, that he is your Honour's Coosen Germane, and that Ireland shall know him to be so before Easter; that I pretend to the authority I have not, . . . and that I delude the people with the hopes of reformation of injuries that lies not in my power; . . . and having said things of me far worse I have endured all with great patience"!

But this patient man would strike back, and sought his own opportunities for so doing. The cost of the government of Ireland had become a source of bitter annoyance to Elizabeth. Speaking of 1573, Richard Cox says: "This year the money sent by the Queen into Ireland since she came to the crown amounted to £490,779 7s. 6½d., and the revenue of Ireland in the same time came to no more than £120,000"—expenditure more than quadruple the income. To remedy this serious drain on her exchequer, Elizabeth was ever devising plans for the curtailment of expenses. This question of the Queen's expenses the shrewd Herbert laboured with assiduity and success. He wrote letter after letter to show there was no need of the 20 horsemen held by Sir Valentine Browne

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at the charge of the Queen. He wrote to Burleigh, October, 1588: "These horsemen are a superfluous charge unto Her Highness: so wrote I to Mr. Secretary some months since, and so avowed I to Mr. Attorney General at his being here in Munster." He wrote again to Burleigh: "Where Her Majesty's allowance to Sir Valentine Browne is 40s. a day it might also be cut off and Her Majesty's service without that charge better set forward." Sir Valentine Browne protested that, surrounded as he was in that wild district by neighbours who held the worst feelings towards the settlers, life and property were not safe for an hour without the protection of the horsemen. Herbert met this by saying the Undertakers were ever provoking quarrels with the Irish, in order to lend colour to their excuse for keeping the horsemen. The result was, that Sir Valentine Browne got notice that the horsemen would be withdrawn. Nicholas Browne, his son, wrote a most doleful letter to Walsingham, that, "resident in that remote wild place of all the West of Ireland," if the horsemen be taken away, "we shall be constrained to our utter undoing, to leave the country." Still the horsemen were withdrawn.

Herbert next tackled Spring. He wrote three elaborate letters to show that the cost of keeping Castle Magne was money lost, and that the castle should be levelled to the ground. The pay of the Constable was 3s. a day, of four horsemen 9d. each, and of 13 foot soldiers 8d. each. If the castle was razed it would mean a considerable saving to the Queen, but would also mean that Spring's occupation and 3s. a day were gone. Herbert gave solid reasons to show it ought to be razed. He went back to the siege of the castle by Perrott. "The soldiers planted in that castle by that Arch Traitor James Fitzmaurice did produce the long, chargeable, and troublesome siege the then Lord President did win it by, it not being from

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without scaleable, nor from below mineable by any possible means, nor as it is built batterable without excessive and infinite charge." He spoke of the easy surprise of the place on Desmond's escape from Dublin, "and may not the same thing occur again," he asks, "if Desmond's son should escape from the Tower?" Next comes the direct attack. "The Constable now of that castle (Spring) who hath it for term of his life, is married to the Earl of Desmond's foster-sister, his Vice-Constable an Irishman married to another foster-sister of the Earl's, divers of the Ward Irishmen." And so why think it would not be given to the Earl's son were he to escape? "It may be said," he remarks, "that Springe is an Englishman." He answers, was not his brother, who was convicted by the Earl of Ormond of giving food and powder to Desmond, an Englishman, and did he not prove treacherous; and why suppose the present Constable, who is in many ways unfit for his charge, would not similarly prove a traitor, "and the castle become at the end a nest and receptacle for rebels"? The remedy is to level it to the ground. "It is chargeable, it is unprofitable, it is perilous, it is odious; therefore it is to be razed, so shall great charges be saved, great peril prevented, and the people generally wonderfully gratified, and God no doubt (pious good man!) be greatly pleased, Whose justice reacheth not only to persons but also to"—bridges.

A year previous to the time these letters were written, viz., in 1587, Elizabeth in her plans for retrenchment had actually sent an order to the Privy Council in Dublin to disband the Ward at Castle Magne and give over the castle to Sir Valentine Browne "and his heirs for ever," for the maintenace of which a perpetuity be granted "of £40 by the year." This order was never executed, nor is it difficult to divine the reason. Sir John Perrott

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was at this time Lord Deputy,[32] and as we have seen, one of the objects he considered deserving of imperial concern was that Castle Magne be repaired, and that it "should not be suffered to pass from the Crowne." Most probably then when the order came, Perrott dissuaded Her Majesty from having it put into effect, and so saved the castle as a Government post.

Sir William Herbert has next a word to say of the third member of the combination—Sir Edward Denny. Still he was essentially a man of charity. "I must confess," he writes, "I have in heart abhorred many of their actions, but never any of themselves." And he repeated the same noble sentiment in a letter to Walsingham. "I have ever wished them well," etc. No doubt he wished Sir Valentine Browne well, though he procured the withdrawal of the horsemen; he entertained good will for Captain Spring, while showing how unfit he was for his post: and the same fine feeling animated him towards Sir Edward Denny, even though love of truth compelled him to speak. In a letter to Walsingham in 1588, he told him that one of the vessels of the Spanish Armada, which contained immense treasure, was wrecked in Dingle Bay; that Denny got hold of the treasure, and though the Queen's servant, he kept the money, and never gave it over to Her Majesty; that among the treasure he found some precious stones, of which one was of great value, which he showed to some friends, and remarked to them, that he should give this stone to Walsingham, but would not, because he was already his friend, but would give it to another at Court who was his enemy, and hoped by this gift to make him his friend.

32. Though holding the important office of Lord Deputy Perrott soon fell into disfavour with his Royal sister. The explanation given is that he had many enemies at Whitehal, and the blunt Knight was no match for the plotters of Elizabeth's intriguing court.

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"I cannot omit what passingly displeaseth me. Those rare things, in truth of good value, of the Duke of Medina Sydonia cast into his hands, as I interpret by God's Providence (to the end they might be presented to Her Majesty), he being Her Highness' sworn servant of her Privy Chamber, sworn councillor of this province, sworn sheriff of this county, he showed certain friends of his at his house in Tralee, and declared how he meant to dispose of every part of them; some to this nobleman, some to that; one thing there was that cost three thousand Ducats in Spain; that he said he should, but would not, bestow upon your Honour, for that your Honour was already sufficiently bent to do him good; but he would bestow it upon another, that had dissuaded Her Majesty from forgiving him the rent of his Signory, whom by that gift he hoped to make his friend." Let Ned Denny after this piece of confidential information, set himself right with "Coosen Germane" Walsingham if he can, and if Denny is not in time committed to the Tower for malversation of public moneys the fault cannot be laid at the door of Sir William Herbert, unwilling though the good man was to have to testify against him.

Castle Magne had been in those days the strong house in which first-class misdemeanants were occasionally detained, from which we learn incidentally the nature of service that jurymen under Elizabeth were expected to render. A court for distributing the Seignories of Kerry under the Desmond Confiscations was held, probably in Tralee. For some reason McCarthy Mor did not attend, and in his absence there was much difficulty in procuring jurors to serve. A Mr. Solicitor Welbraham attended on behalf of the Crown. Informations were duly sworn; the Commissioners gave directions to the jury specifying what they were to do, but the jurors had views of their own, and did not agree with the law as expounded by the

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Commissioners. They were again instructed from the Bench on their duty, but they could not see eye to eye with the Commissioners. They were then "gently admonished," but they would not yield, and things so continued for a whole day. They were locked up for the night, and next morning were again brought into court to assist in the execution of the law. They were addressed from the Bench, and instructed on what they were to do, but they proved intractable; they were finally threatened by the Commissioners, but they were immovable. At the end of the second day the Commissioners sat on judgment on the jurors themselves, and declared judgment, which was,—that these contumacious jurors be taken to Castle Magne and there kept in close confinement under "grievous fines." How long they remained prisoners we are not told, but it is hoped they were liberated, and the fines remitted, as soon as they saw their way to return a decision in accordance with the superior judgment of the Commissioners.

In June, 1588, a noble personage was committed to Castle Magne, whose detention at the castle must cause no little surprise, if not indignation, among my readers when I state the facts; but I have first to narrate the circumstances that led to the arrest of the distinguished prisoner—the Countess Clancarthy, wife of McCarthy Mor.

(To be continued).

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Listowel, 11th December, 1908.

DEAR SIR,

Mr. Butcher's observation (Journal I., 6)—"the first reference, I believe, in literature to Ireland is in a Greek work probably of the first century before Christ," has suggested to me that possibly the following memo., made some years ago, when I lived in Dublin, and had access to its libraries, may be of interest to members of the Kerry Archæological Society.

Having jotted down the word exactly as in the text (for my object was a note on the ancient names of Erin), I indicate in the last column the case, so that the reader can form the nominative for himself, when the word is in an oblique case.

If members would kindly add to this list references from other foreign writers of the first ten centuries, the list might in time become a useful index to a foreign bibliography on Irish History.

In Ward's life of St. Rumould he makes reference to numerous old writers on Ireland and the Irish, and I was often tempted to publish a copy, or a translation, of his

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arguments on Ireland's title to the ancient name of Scotia.

Perhaps some members with more time on hands would undertake this task.

Yours faithfully,

MATTHEW J. BYRNE.

The Editor,

Kerry Archæological Journal.

ANCIENT NAMES OF IRELAND.

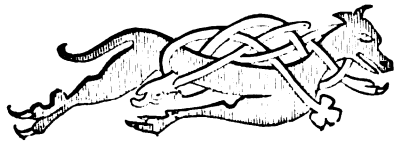
Period.	Ancient writer.	Reference	Name for Ireland	Case.
6th cen. B C	Orpheus	Argonautics	Ἰερνιδα	Acc.
B.C. 345	Aristotle	De Mundo c. 3.	Ἰέρνη	Nom.
B.C. 55	C. Julius Cæsar	De Bello Gallico	Hibernia	Nom.
B.C. 44	Diodorus Siculus	Bibliothecae Hist., lib. v. (32)	Ἰρτν	Acc,
B C. 30	Strabo	Geographiae, lib iv.	Ἰέρνη	Nom.
B.C. 10	Sextus Aur. Propertius	Lib iv., el. 3, v. 7.	Hiberni	Nom.
A.D. 45	Pomponius Mela	De Situ Orbis, lib. iii., c 6	Iverna	Nom.
A.D. 79	Caius Pliny II.	Historia Nat., lib. iv, s 30	Hyberniae	Gen.
A.D. 80	C. Julius Solinus	Polyhist. c. 22.	Hibernia	Nom.
A.D. 80	Tacitus	De Vita Agricolae	Hibernia	Nom:
	Do	Annales xii., 32.	Hiberniam	Acc.
A.D. 90	Juvenal	Satires ii., v. 159.	Juvernae	Gen.
A.D. 96	Publius Pap. Statius	Sylvar, lib. v., v. 2.	Hyperione	Abl.
A.D. 120	Claudius Ptolemny	Geograph, lib. ii., c. 1.	Ἰουερνια	Nom.
	do	do lib. ii., c. 2.	Ἰουουερνιας or Ἰουερνιας	Gen.
	do	do lib vii., c, 5.	Ἰουβερνια	Nom.
2nd cen.	Apuleius	De Mundo	Ierna	Nom.
3rd century	Dionysius	Apud Ussher Antiq. Brit. Eccl., 16, 267.	Ουερνια	Nom.
			Βερνια	Nom.
do	Marcianus Heracleota	Peripli, lib. i., t. 1.	Ἰουερνια	Nom.
do	Agathemer	Geograph, lib. ii., c. 4.	Ἰουερνια	Nom.
A.D. 296	Eumenius	Panegyricus Vet., c. 7.	Hiberniam	Acc.
2nd to 4th century	Antoninus Augustus	Itinerarius	Hiverione	Abl.
4th century	Aethicus	Cosmog. apud Gronov.	Hyberus	Nom.
do	Julius Honorius	do	Hibero	Nom.
do	Aethicus	do	Hybernia	Nom.

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Period	Ancient Writer	Reference	Name for Ireland	Case
A.D. 370	Rufus Festus Avienus	Orae Marit., v. 94.	Sacram Insulam Gens. Hibernorum Colit	Acc.
A.D. 400	Claudius Claudianus	De quarto Consul. Honor., v. 18.	Ierne	Nom.
A.D. 400	Claudius Claudianus	In Prim. Con. Stilch. lib. ii., v. 24.	Iernen	Acc.
A.D. 490	Stephanus Byzantinus	Lib. de Urbibus	Ἰέρνη	Nom.
do	do	do	Ἰουερνια	Nom.
do	do	do	Ἰουερνη	Nom.
do	do	do	Ἰουερνια	Nom.
5th century	Orosius	Hist., lib. i., c. 2.	Hibernia	Nom.
do	St. Patrick	Confession	Hiberione	Abl.
do	do	do	Hiberionem	Acc.
do	do	Ad Croticum Epist.	Hiberione	Abl.
do		do	Hiberia	Abl.
6th century	Priscianus Periegeta	Verse 268, et seq.	Iberus	Nom.
	Pope Gregory I.	Epist. Apud Ussher Sylloge, Epist. I	Hiberniam	Acc.
do	Cogitiosus	Ussher Antiq. xvi., 274.	Scotia	Nom.
A.D. 600	Isidorus Hispalensis	Origines, lib. xiv., c. 6.	Scotia & Hibernia	Nom.
7th century	Anon, Ravenn. apud Gronov.	Geog. lib. i., c. 3.	Hibernia Insula Scotorum	Nom.
	do	do c. 32.	Hibernia & Scotia	Nom.
do	Ven. Bede	Hist. Eccl. I. i., &c.	Hibernia and Scotia	Nom.
	Anon	Vita Fursei apud. Ussher Brit. Eccl. Antiq. xvi. 275	Hiberniam	Acc.
	Jonas	Vita B. Columbani Apud do.	Hibernia and Scotia	Abl.
	Adamnan	Vita Columbae	Scotiam	Acc.
	Laurentius, &c.	Epist. apud Ussher Hib. Sylloge, vii.	Scotiam	Acc.
8th cen.	Coelfrid	Epist. ad Naitan	Scotiam	Acc.
9th cen.	Nennius	Hist. Brit. 6, 7, 58, &c.	Hyberniam	Acc.
	,,	,,	Hibernia	Nom.
	,,	,,	Iberniam	Acc.
	Raban Maur	De Universo xii, 5	Scotia and Hibernia	Nom.
	Alfred the Great	Trans. Orosius	Scotland	Nom.
	Egilward	Prolog. in Vitam S. Burchandi apud Ussher Sylloge x.	Scotia	Nom.
	do	Vita Kiliani apud Ussher Antiq. xvi, 279	Scotia and Hibernia	Nom.

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Period	Ancient Writer	Reference	Name of Ireland	Case
	Walafridus Strabo	Apud Ussher Antiq, xvi	Hibernia	Nom.
	Various writers	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle	Ybernian	
		do	Yrlande	
		do	Iralande	
		do	Hibernia	
		do	Hirlande	
		do	Irlande	
	Eginhard	Annales. 812	Hiberniam	Acc.
10th cen.	Aethelweard	Chron iv., c 3,	Hibernia	Abl.
do	Notkerus Balbulus	Vita Caroli Magni	do	Abl.
	do	Martyr, 16 Cal. Apr.	Hibernia and Scotia	Abl.
	Marianus Scotus	Spud Chron. Florence of Worcester	Hibernia Insula Sanctorum	Abl.
	Asser	Ann. Rer. Gest. Alfred, Mag.	Hyberniae	Gen.
	Hucbaldus	Vita Lebuini	Scotiam & Hiberniam	Acc.
	Adso	Car. de S. Mansuetus	Scotia, Hibernia	Nom.
12th cen.	Simeon of Durham	Hist. de Gest. Reg. Angl.	Hiberniam	Acc.
	Theodoric	Vita S. Rumould	Scotia	
	Henry of Huntingdon	Hist. Angl. lib. i., et alibi	Hibernia Hyberniam	Nom. Acc.
	Eustathius	Com. Sup. Dion	Ουερνια, Βερνιν	Nom.
	Geraldus Cambrensis	Topog. Hibernica Expug. Hibernica	Hibernia do	Nom. Nom.
	Various writers	Annales Cambriae	do	Abl.
	Caradoc	Brut, Y. Twysogion	Iverdon	
	do	do	Iwerdou	
	St: Bernard	Vita Malachiae	Scotia	Abl.



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The Battle of Knockanure.



IN a rare book, lent to me by Miss Rowan, I found the following account of a battle said to have taken place in North Kerry in the third or fourth century. If, as several writers state, Ossian was a contemporary of St. Patrick, we can approximately date this notable event. The book is entitled "The Western Bard; or, Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose and Verse, selected from the Poems of the celebrated Ossian, and other Irish Manuscripts. Translated into English by Thomas de Stack, S.M." Mr. Stack seems to have collected many wonderful tales, but I give only the introduction and the legend which is expressly stated to relate to Kerry. It will be noticed that the same name is differently rendered in different sentences—possibly copyist's mistakes—but as I am not learned enough to decide which is right, I give them as they appear in Mr. Stack's translation. It is extraordinary how all Irish writers of the early Christian period constantly allude to Greece, rather than any nearer country with which one might expect them to be better acquainted, and how many Greek words appear as ecclesiastical terms in Ireland. The only other country we hear much of from writers of this period is Egypt. I may mention that, according to Dr. Joyce, Knockanare "means The Hill of Slaughter," but "Knockanure: The Hill of Yew Trees." Knockanure, in Irraghticonnor, is about

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nine miles from the Shannon. The present village is some distance from the old church and hill which formerly bore the name. I give a photograph of them, which was kindly supplied by Mr. Gun-Mahony, of Kilmorna.

C. HUSSEY.

THE BATTLE OF KNOCKANURE.

"The learned Mr. O'Halloran, in his introduction to the history of Ireland, mentions that there was a book entitled "Agal na Seiniorye," or the Dialects of the Ancients, somewhere preserved in the county of Kerry or Limerick. This book was formerly in the possession of one Eagan O'Rahilly, a celebrated poet and antiquarian, who died in the eighteenth century. It set forth that the celebrated Ossian, the son of Fion, and father of Oscar, lived at the time that St. Patrick preached the Gospel in this Kingdom, and that he owed his longevity to the following wonderful circumstances:—Being one day hunting, he accidentally, in pursuing a deer, separated himself from the rest of the champions, and met with a young woman of the most exquisite beauty, in a romantic glen. On viewing her lovely features, being of an amorous disposition, he was suddenly smitten with her charms; she in like manner, viewing the Irish hero's comely shape, well-proportioned limbs, and manly appearance, became enamoured of him, and requested of him to go with her to her own country, where it was in her power to bestow upon him immortality and perpetual youth; upon which he consented. She took him through a subterranean passage to her own country, called Tiernanoag, or the country of the immortals, which is described to be superior to the Valley of Temper or the Elysian fields of the ancients. In this country the brave Ossian lived for more than two centuries, enjoying every rural pleasure that could be imagined, not thinking of his country or companions during that long period of time. At last, awaking from this pleasing lethargy, and thinking

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of his kindred in Ireland, he intimated to this fair creature that he thought it high time to return to his native country, and pay a visit to his father, the renowned Fion, and the other champions. On hearing these words, his wife, who was an enchantress, smiled, and said it was no more than folly for him to think of leaving the country he was in, where he enjoyed everlasting youth and every other felicity, and that there were no traces of Fion nor of the Fionaeirion to be found or met with in Ireland, being all dead for a series of years. She then asked him how long did he think he lived in the country of the Immortals. He replied, "About a few months." "Why," she said, "you are an inhabitant of this country for more than two hundred years, but in consequence of enjoying such a round of uninterrupted felicity you did not feel the time glide away, so much is this country under the immediate protection of the Gods." Ossian not giving credit to what she averred, replied: "Most amiable and worthy lady, all the pleasures that the universe can afford will not henceforth prevent me from this determination of seeing my father and the rest of my former brethren in arms, and that dear Emerald Isle which gave me birth." "Since you are so positive," said she, "you may act as you please; and go and accoutre the white steed you will find in such a particular stable, then mount him, and he will take you, free from any danger, to Ireland; but, my dear, I counsel you still further not to dismount on any account while you remain in that country, for if you do you can never see this country more, as the steed will vanish from your sight and you will grow a miserable, decrepid old man and feel the miseries and infirmities peculiar to old age, and will be a real object of pity." Whereupon Ossian, taking his leave of this lovely maid, did as he was directed, and pursuing his journey through unknown regions, safely arrived in his own country, where he was very much surprised at

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the degeneracy and small stature of the inhabitants, and seeing some persons driving horses which were laden with corn to the next town to sell, and one of the sacks accidentally falling, three or four of the men strove to lift up the sack upon the horse's back, whereupon Ossian coming up, was astonished at their weakness, seeing that four men could not lift up a small sack, and asked them in what part of the country did Fion McCuval and his champions reside. The peasants replied that no such people then existed as the Fianaeirion, but that they were informed by tradition that such heroes existed some centuries before. Then Ossian alighting from his steed, easily lifted up the sack, and as soon as his feet touched Irish ground he was immediately transformed into a feeble, ghastly, grey, old man, quite helpless, and in that state was taken to the house of St. Patrick, between whom began a most pleasing dialogue in Irish verse, Ossian giving a most poetical and elegant account of the valorous exploits performed by each hero, and particularly by the renowned Oscar. In this dialogue Ossian gave a particular account of a most bloody battle fought at Knockanore, in the barony of Irraghticonnor, in the county of Kerry, in the third century, which happened in the following manner:—

One day as Fion and his seven battalions of Irish Militia were performing several feats of military exercises on the declivity of this hill, near the brink of that lordly and limpid river called the Shannon, Fion's Druid took a careful view of the firmament, and immediately consulted his art of divination, by which he found that some impending danger was approaching, and apprised Fion thereof, requiring of him to send a watchman to every coast in Ireland, as usual, to give intelligence of the enemy, and to make the battalions prepare, as they should soon have occasion to fight a tremendous and bloody battle, and pointed out to Fion the bloody signs he saw

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in the firmament, by his conjurations, which plainly evinced the impending danger. Fion, chewing his thumb from the bone to the marrow, as was his custom, found that the Druid had predicted right, and according to his directions, sent watchmen to the respective harbours of Ireland.

They were not long in this dilemma, when they beheld a most beautiful woman approaching them arrayed in rich habiliments, having a noble air and graceful deportment; and she requested of the first man she met to direct her to where Fion, the King of the Fians, was, and to introduce her to his majesty. She was immediately ushered into his presence, and he no sooner beheld this incomparable beauty, than he welcomed her, at the same time inquiring her business, from whence she came, or of what region was she an inhabitant. "Most noble champion," said she, "I am the only daughter of the King of Greece, who promised me in marriage to a hero named Talemactroen, who is a renowned champion, celebrated for his magnanimous deeds, yet I disdainfully rejected him; the reason why I disliked him was his being monstrously deformed in body by enchantment, being of a gigantic stature and his complexion and skin as black as any beetle, and having the ears, head, and tail of a cat. Being resolved in mind to suffer the greatest punishment and even death itself sooner than become his wife, I have retired in disguise from my father's court, and in this manner roamed from one country to another until I travelled the known world, hoping to find a champion to espouse my cause and protect me from this hero, but all in vain as no emperor or king to whom I applied, would engage in my quarrel, but flatly denied me, as Tale is highly celebrated throughout the world for the mighty achievements he has performed in several kingdoms at different times. It appears that his name is a terror to them. This, O illustrious Chief, is my mournful story,

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and now I apply to you, as my last refuge and consolation, hoping and expecting that as you have at your command a valorous band of renowned Irish heroes, you will be the protector of a helpless young maiden, the daughter of a King."

This speech being ended, made a great impression on Fion. He asked her name. She answered: "Niavnovyraliach."

"Madam," replied Fion, "I give you protection, and vow by my honour and the arms of chivalry, to espouse your cause with all my heart; it is my rule never to refuse protection or friendship to the distressed, and though you describe this Tale to be so great a hero, I shall be surprised if I find not a match for him in single combat."

After the princess had returned him her unfeigned thanks for his courtesy, Fion introduced her to his lovely and amiable consort, whose name was Greney, who sumptuously entertained her in her hospitable palace. In the course of the day Fion perceived at a distance something like a large cloud approaching him, and as it drew near it totally eclipsed that part of the horizon. He then perceived the hero emerging from it in the same form that the princess described, completely armed from head to foot, with a shining keen-cutting sword in his hand of uncommon size. Coming up to where Fion stood he asked him if he were Fion McCuval, the commander of the Fianaeirion. Fion replied in the affirmative. Tale then asked if he had granted protection to Niavnoveraliach the daughter of the King of Greece. Fion replied that he had never refused to protect the helpless.

"Well," said Tale, "deliver back this princess to me, or send me two hundred of your best men to fight instantly."

Whereupon Fion ordered 200 brave warriors to put on their armour and attack him, but the spirited valiant champion slew them all in a short time, and requested

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double the number to be sent the next day, which he in like manner put to the sword, and continued to do so for four days, slaughtering and massacring the flower of Fion's men, in such a manner that he terrified the whole army. When the brave Oscar saw such a defection of the Irish troops, in consequence of Tale making such a havoc among them, he became highly enraged, and armed himself immediately, taking his never-failing sword in his hand, came to the battle, and challenged Tale to fight the following morning. This the other willingly accepted. Early next morning these two distinguished heroes entered the lists, and encountered each other in such a manner that both their shields emitted flashes of fire and seemed all in a flame, from the force of the tremendous blows they gave each other, and their powerful, brave, vigorous, warlike and astonishing combat continued for the space of five days, until the valiant Oscar, getting into better spirits, and seeing the honour of his country at stake, valiantly beheaded him. As soon as he expired, the enchantment forsook him, and he appeared the most beautiful corpse that ever mortal man beheld. When the Grecian princess beheld the dead hero's incomparable beauty, she reflected on his magnanimous exploits, and beholding the number of warriors that were untimely slain on her account, she became so overwhelmed with woe that she gave a heart-rending sigh and instantly died.

When Margach, of the Green Sword, the brother of Tale, was informed in Greece of his death, he vowed revenge, and shortly after, with his two valiant sons, and a formidable train of champions, he set sail for Ireland, landing on the spot where Fion was encamped, and signifying that they came in a hostile manner, Margach came up to Fion, and without much ceremony demanded 500 of his best men, which he would fight with his single arm. The following morning Fion obeyed his order, and Margach encountered them so valiantly that they all fell

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by his sword in one day; and so he went on for seven days, until by the prowess of his single arm alone he much thinned the Irish army, which when the noble and renowned Oscar had seen, he came to his grandfather, Fion, and earnestly requested leave of him to fight this scourge of his country; but Fion would by no means grant him leave, alleging that Oscar was his shield and protector, and that if he were slain in the encounter the Irish warriors would be totally annihilated. Then Fion, in a desponding manner, went to each of his chief champions, requesting that some one or other of them would fight Margach in single combat; but each champion refused to fight him singly, saying that they would collectively encounter him and his champions. The most diminutive commander of a battalion, whose name was Ceenleigh, told Fion that he would encounter this foreign hero, in a spirited manner, which could not but make Fion laugh, to think that the bravest champions in the world refused to fight Margach, and that Ceenleigh voluntarily offered to encounter him. Whereupon the next day he came to the field of battle; but when Margarch saw him approaching, flourishing his trusty sword, he asked if this champion was to be his antagonist. Fion replied that he was. "I will not fight nor stain my sword with the blood of such a diminutive creature," said Margach, "but will send his equal to encounter him," which he accordingly did, and both heroes valiantly encountered each other, until at last Ceenleigh, watching his opportunity, gave the other such a powerful stroke that he severed his head from his body.

When the Irish army saw the Grecian slain they gave three jovial cheers. This enraged Margach to such a degree that he swore that if Fion did not find a champion the following morning, who would fight him in single combat, he would slay all his men except Fion and his son Hugh the Small, whom he would carry captive to

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his own country, to grace his conquest. When Oscar was informed of the infidel's menace, he immediately challenged him to single combat, and began to arm himself by placing on his head his plumed helmet. He put on his coat of mail, and adorned his breast with a refulgent cuirass, and put on his shield wrought of Lydian steel, embossed with gold, on which was emblazoned the genius of Erin, emerging like another Venice from the bosom of the Atlantic Ocean, attended by the mermaids and several other sea nymphs, and Thetis, Amphitrite, and Triton calming the waves and conveying her on shore, as the protectress of the Ogygian Isle, accompanied by the music of the sirens. He put on his shoulders a radiant baldrick or belt, from which hung his sharp, shining sword, wrought of different metals, his legs being cased in greaves of resplendent hue, bound with gold buckles; and thus accoutred he rushed towards the field of battle, a strong, valiant, magnanimous hero, nimble, active and vigorous, with a most pleasing and engaging countenance, and manly appearance. Then, being fired with the greatest rage that Margach should cast so gross a reflection on his country, he challenged him to fight, which Margach accepted with the like eagerness, and the two heroes encountered each other like two fierce lions or two furious bulls, in such a manner that with the violent fury of their weighty blows the sea and river Shannon seemed ruffled and agitated, and the ground on which they fought shook in such a manner that it resembled an earthquake. Thus they continued, each giving and receiving many grievous blows, until night put an end to the engagement for that time. When the heroes rested and sat together, Margach spoke, addressing Oscar after the following manner:

"Oscar, thou art one of the bravest and most manly champions that I ever encountered, but be assured that I will surely vanquish thee, and bear away thy head, as

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every part of me is invulnerable and no weapon can ever wound me, nor can I ever be consumed by fire."

"Perhaps it may be as thou sayest," replied the Irish champion, "but I shall be much surprised if before to-morrow evening my sword do not enter thy flesh." Upon which the heroes departed each to his place of repose.

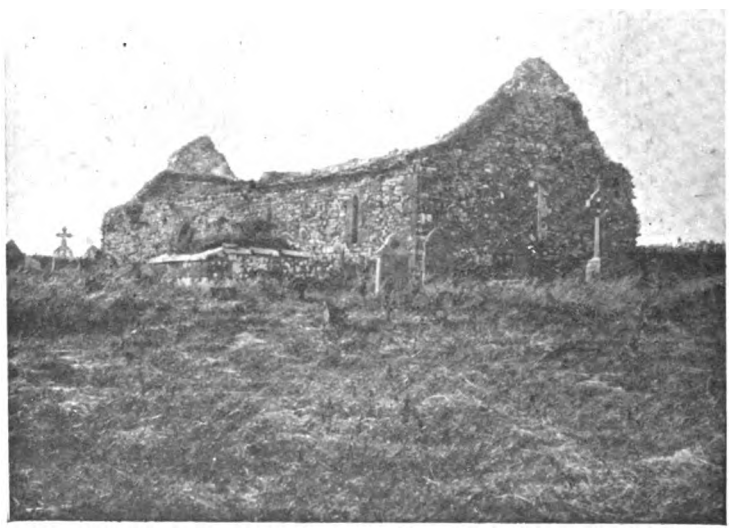
Next morning, as soon as Aurora ushered in the day, the heroes resumed this memorable conflict, and before noon Margach was deeply wounded by the valiant Oscar, and each from the other received many dangerous wounds. In this awful and tremendous combat did these heroes continue, incessantly cutting and marring each other, for the long period of ten days, till on the tenth day Margach cried out to Oscar in a feeble voice, imploring him to grant an hour or two to rest, but Oscar refused, saying he was determined not to cease from his combat until one of them should fall. At last Oscar valiantly beheaded Margach. Such was the end of Margach in spite of all his boasting that no mortal was able to conquer him.

Next day, when Margach's two sons, Ciardan and Leagan, found that their father was slain, each in his turn challenged our renowned hero, who undauntedly fought them, though he was grievously wounded, and made both of them share the same fate as their father.

When Aile the Fair, wife of Margach, thought it too long since she had heard anything of her husband's expedition, she prepared a ship and set sail for Ireland. On arriving, she came to the field of battle, and inquired of Fion, who informed her that her husband and two sons were slain in single combat, and he showed her the spot where they had died. When she arrived there, most dolefully bewailing their loss, she composed an extempore poem on their valorous achievements, which she plaintively recited in a most melodious voice, after the manner of her country, and boldly asserted that her husband and two sons were treacherously slain. Fion answered that the heroes of Ireland ever scorned to take the least advantage of any champion, and he assured her

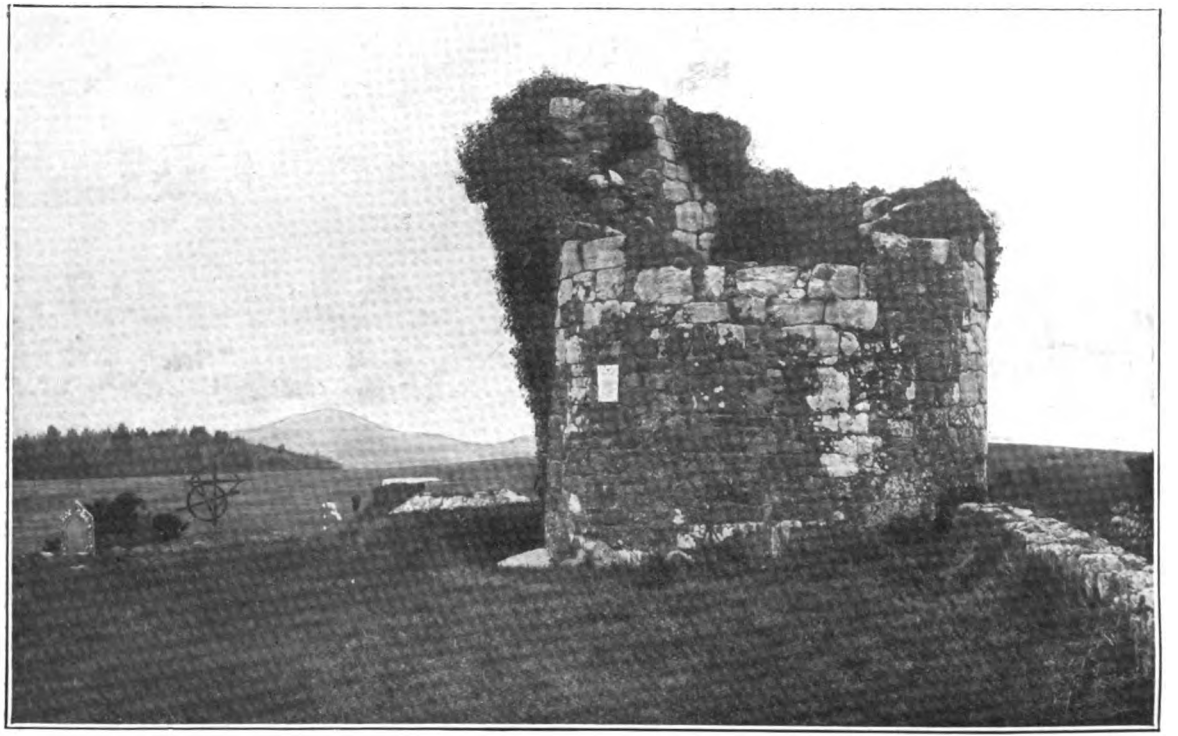
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that her heroes got fair play and were fairly vanquished, not by himself, but by the valiant Oscar, in single combat; that they were an honour to their country, as they behaved in a most noble and courageous manner; and "Be it known to you, fair lady," said he, "that Irish champions are too noble-minded to use any method derogatory to the laws of chivalry or true heroism to vanquish their opponents." Aile would not believe his words, and ordered the remainder of her forces to attack the Irish army; but the Irish champions behaved so valiantly that in a few hours the forces of Aile were totally routed and all slain except three, whom they humanely spared to convey Aile to her own country. And thus ended this memorable battle, from which the hill on which it was fought was called Knuckander, from the number of heroes who were slain in this fierce battle, and now by corruption it is called Knuckanore."



KNOCKANURE RUINED CHURCH. By Dr. Frederick Vicars

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ROUND TOWER AT AGHADOE.

Taken by Dr. Fogerty, R.N.

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UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

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The Round Towers of the Co. Kerry.

(As Described by Richard Hitchcock in 1853.)

Contributed by J. Coleman, M.R.S.A.I.

THE County of Kerry, my native county, I am glad to be able to say, is as rich in its quota of round towers as in other primeval remains. According to the map of Ireland published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, in 1845, Kerry had formerly no less than four round towers, viz—Aghadoe, Ardfert, Rattoo, and one upon an island in Lough Currane. The tower at Aghadoe is marked S, i.e., only the stump; Ardfert, F, foundation only; Currane, I, imperfect, and Rattoo has nothing after it. I could find no account of the Lough Currane round tower in any other work, nor have I noticed the remains of it on any of the islands in that lake when on some of them myself in 1848. Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland states that Kerry had formerly three of the ancient round towers, of which the one that stood near the Cathedral of Ardfert fell in 1771; of another at Aghadoe there is about 20 feet remaining, and the third is still standing nearly entire at Rattoo. Hall's Ireland mentions the same three towers, but the Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland seems to make mention of a further

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Keltic or Pillar Tower, as follows: "Several islets variegate the bosom of Lough Currane, on the largest of which, called Church Island, are some ecclesiastical ruins and the remains of what is termed a Keltic Tower."

Few of our round towers have been oftener described than that of Aghadoe, which I think may be attributed to its being situated close to Killarney. Dr. Smith merely mentions the existence at Aghadoe of "the stump of one of the round towers," but in his Prospect of the Lake of Killarney, taken from the north, he gives an interesting view of the ruined church, round tower and round castle, in which the tower does not appear so dilapidated as it is now. "Weld's Killarney" says that "the tower of Aghadoe was constructed of hewn stone, but exposed for ages on the summit of a lofty hill, it has yielded to the shocks of time, and at present is in a very perishable state, its shattered remains not more than 15 feet in height." In Mrs. Plumptre's "Tour in Ireland" it is stated that "very near the church stands the small fragment of a round tower, scarcely 20 feet in height, in such a state of decay that it will probably soon be entirely mouldered away." Lewis mentions the tower as "the ruins of an ancient round tower of which about 20 feet are yet standing." A more satisfactory account of it, however, is that given by Windele: "The Turaghan or Round Tower stands 60 feet from the north-west angle of the church, and is called 'The Pulpit' by the peasantry. All that now remains of this ancient structure is the basement, reaching from the sill of the door downward. The height is about 15 feet. It measures in its outer circumference 52 feet. The diameter within the walls is 6 feet 10 inches, and the wall is 4½ feet thick, which measurement diminishes in the inside, above the level of the present floor, 3 inches. Its masonry is greatly superior to that of the church. The stones are large, regular and well-dressed. The greater part of the facing

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stone of the northern side has been taken away for the erection of tombs in the adjacent burial ground. Within and without the spoilator has been effectually at work, aided by those worst of pests, the gold-seekers, fellows whose unhallowed dreams are most fatal to our antiquities. This tower must have fallen before the eighteenth century, but no notice of it in its erect state has survived. It has not hitherto, we believe, been excavated or examined."

In this last extract the term "Pulpit" is, I believe, incorrectly applied to the round tower at Aghadoe. In all old accounts we find it given to the round castle, and it is to this last building I myself have heard the name applied. Dr. O'Donovan has the following: "Achadh-da-eo, i.e., The Field of the Two Yews, now Aghadoe, an old church near which are the remains of a round tower, about two miles to the north of Killarney." What remains now of the tower stands at a distance of about 60 feet from the north-west corner of the old church. The diameter inside is 7 feet, but a great part of the outside having been taken away, I did not measure the circumference. The highest part of the tower now standing is about 19 feet from the present surface of the ground, but the greater part of the tower is not so high. The stone of which it is built, and the style of masonry, seem different from those of the adjacent old church, being much superior. The exterior facing is of Cyclopean structure, and the interior of rubble work. A deep bohereen passes close to the tower, so close, indeed, that it must have been the means of undermining some of it.

The old church, like most of our ancient ecclesiastical edifices, is built almost east and west, and still exhibits proofs of its former architectural beauties, particularly in the doorway. It is composed of different kinds of stone, some of which must have been brought from a distance. In a square enclosure a little to the south of the church are the ruins of a round castle, named "The

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Pulpit," having a flight of stone stairs in the thickness of the wall, and indications of there having once been an immensely strong wooden floor in its middle height. All these interesting remains are marked on Sheet 66 of the Ordnance Survey of the County Kerry.

In the immediate vicinity of Aghadoe Tower was found an Ogham stone, which, though much mutilated, is preserved in the garden at Aghadoe House*, where I examined and made a sketch of it in 1848.

The round tower of Ardfert no longer exists, but we have some descriptions of it in its erect state, such as the following by Dr Smith: "Opposite the west end of the cathedral stands one of the ancient round towers, near an hundred feet high, built mostly of a dark kind of marble, the first I have met with not composed of freestone." In his "General History of Ireland," 1778, O'Halloran thus notices this tower: "St. Brendan, of the House of Ir, the patron saint of the O'Connors Kerry, erected a see at Hi-Ferte, or The Territory of Miracles, commonly called Ardfert or Ardart. His successors were sometimes called the Bishops of Kerry. The remains of churches, abbeys, and religious houses, with inscriptions, remarkable tombs, etc., at this day sufficiently proclaim its ancient magnificence. An anchorite tower of 120 feet high, the finest in Ireland, standing near the Cathedral, fell down in the year 1771. Of this noble city, the ancient capital of Kerry, no other memorials but the above remain, except its being the seat of the Earls of Glandore." In the Parliamentary Gazetteer of Ireland the Ardfert tower is described as stated, whilst Archdall's Monasticon speaks of it as esteemed the finest in Ireland; but, being neglected, it unfortunately fell to the ground in 1771. Another account, published in "The Tralee Chronicle" of 4th May, 1844, gives its height at 150 feet.

*This stone has since been placed on the low south wall of the old Church—Ed.

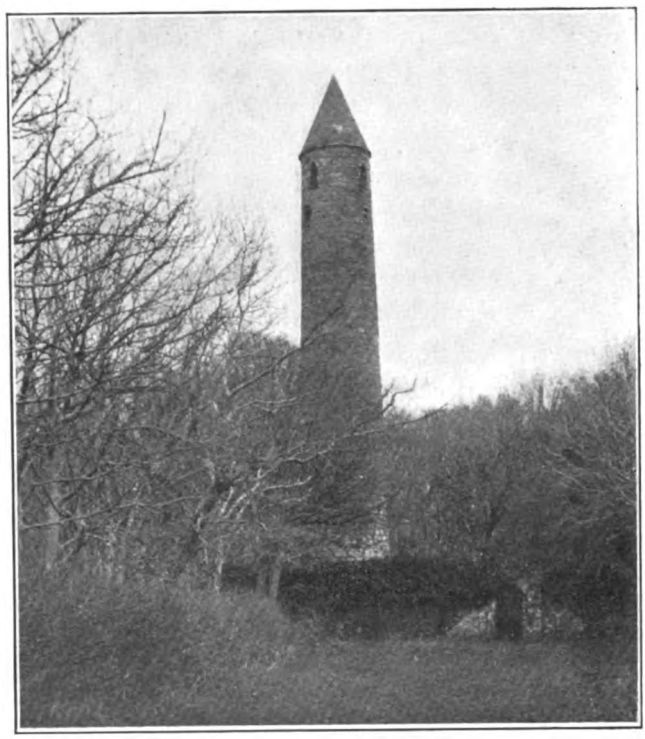
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The site of Ardfert Round Tower is marked in Sheet 20 of the Ordnance Survey, a little to the west of the Cathedral, which is not built quite east and west, as most usual. In the same enclosure, or immediate vicinity, are Templenahoe and Templenagriffon, and further to the north-east in the (Crosbie) Demesne are the splendid ruins of Ardfert Abbey.

Dr. Smith (1756), Archdall (1786), Seward (1798), and the author of "A Tour Through Ireland" (1780) speak of Rattoo Round Tower as standing in the churchyard in their day, so that the shutting of it out by the present wall must have been of recent date. Lewis (1837) thus mentions this round tower: "There are no remains of the castle, but those of the abbey still exist, and together with the adjoining lofty round tower, which is still entire and clothed with ivy, form an interesting and picturesque group." In his "Architecture and Round Towers of Ireland" (1845) Dr. Petrie gives a pretty detailed description of this tower, from which the following is an extract: "The Tower of Rattoo is still perfect, and is remarkable from being placed on a terrace or platform connected with a causeway which extends in a line opposite its doorway. The tower is formed of roughly squared, hammered sandstone, the entrance door alone being chiselled. It measures 47 feet 9 inches in circumference at its base, and 92 feet in height, the wall being 3 feet 10 inches in thickness at the doorway. The latter is semi-circular-headed, the arch being formed by three stones, and it is ornamented with a flat band of 9 inches in breadth. It is 5 feet 4 inches high, 1 foot 8 inches in width below the arch, and 2 feet wide at the sill. The tower is divided into six storeys, that at the top containing, as usual, four large apertures facing the cardinal points. These apertures have sloping jambs, are externally angular-headed, but internally are quadrangular. The inter-

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mediate storeys, between the uppermost and the second or doorway storey, are each lighted by a single aperture, but in consequence of the ivy their exact situation cannot be determined, with the exception of one in the fifth



ROUND TOWER OF RATTOO.
Photographed by Dr. Fogerty, R.N

storey, lately exposed by a storm, which is angular-headed and faces the east. The lowest storey is filled up to the level of the doorway. Between the floors of each of the storeys, rough corbel stones project from the wall about the middle of its height, a not uncommon feature in the interior of most towers. My late friend, Mr. William Morrison, suggested to me that these corbels might be for the purpose of fixing ladders to join the storeys, but to my mind they were intended as supports for shelves

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on which to place the precious things deposited in these towers."

Wilkinson's Practical Geology and Ancient Architecture of Ireland (1845) describes Rattoo Tower as of "unusual height, conical top perfect, four large openings at top, angle-headed outside, square-headed inside; door circular-headed, usual size, and usual height, above the surface of the ground; the building constructed of hard quartz sandstone, with cut stone band round the door 9 inches wide, and ¾-inch projection." To those who would take the trouble, it may be curious to note the difference between Dr. Petrie's measurements and mine. I visited Rattoo Tower in February, 1848, and found the dimensions as follows—Circumference outside, 47 feet; height of doorway, 5 feet 3 inches from the ground; breadth at bottom outside, 2 feet 1 inch; inside, 2 feet ½-inch; breadth of top where arch turns, outside 1 foot 8½ inches, inside 1 foot 8 inches; diameter of tower inside, 7 feet 4 inches; thickness of wall at doorway, 3 feet 9 inches. Round the doorway outside is a cornice or ornament, and just over it also some species of ornament. Inside are three storeys or sets of stones all around, projecting, and between each of these storeys are one or more angle stones, also projecting, as if for assistance in ascending. There are four windows or apertures at the top of the tower, facing the cardinal points. The tower stands on a sort of platform of masonry, and in the material of the tower lime-mortar is visible. The doorway, I think, faces east. The tower does not now stand in the same enclosure with the adjacent old church, whose ruins, a little to the south-east of the tower, are enclosed by a high wall, built, I was informed, by Mr. Gun. The church, apparently an ancient one, is built east and west. A little further to the east by north are the ruins of an abbey also built east and west.

These interesting Rattoo remains are marked on Sheet 9 of the Ordnance Survey. One of my earliest recollections is that of my dear father helping me when a

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child to climb up the doorway of the round tower of Rattoo, our sitting upon a bench or seat outside, my looking up to the top of the interior, and his again helping me down from the doorway.



DOORWAY OF RATTOO ROUND TOWER.
Photographed by Dr. Fogerty, R.N.

When the present writer saw Rattoo Tower (which is within an easy drive of Ballybunion) in 1905, it was apparently in as good preservation as when described by Mr. Hitchcock. A rather ornate Protestant Church of modern construction stands to the south-east of the graveyard, in which are still the considerable ruins of an old church; but the churchyard is one of the most desolate-looking of the Kerry graveyards, which are probably the most neglected and forlorn of their kind to be found in all Ireland.

J. C.

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Gortbuee Cup and Circle Stone.

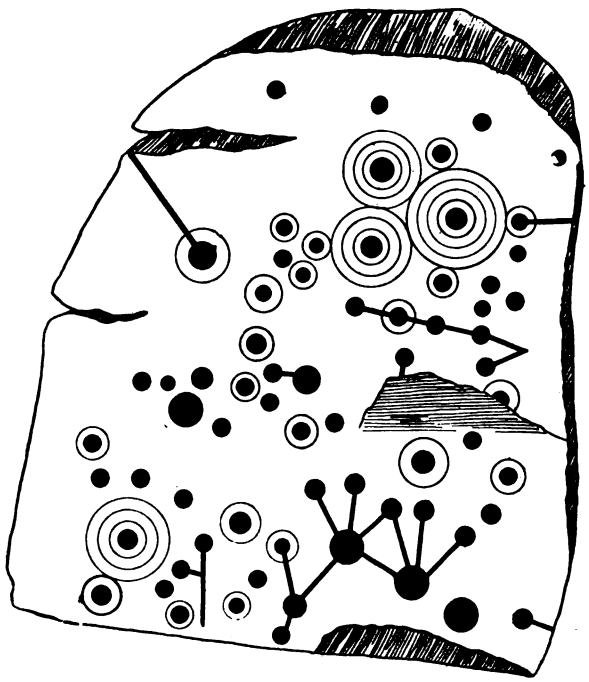
ABOUT two miles from the entrance to The Hag's Glen, in a townland known as Gortbuee, stands a somewhat elaborately-carved stone, to which, as far as I can ascertain, public attention has never been called. I believe it was first discovered by the late Captain Magill, who some years afterwards saved it from destruction. One day, when shooting in the neighbourhood, he saw some men breaking it with crowbars, etc., merely to clear the field of stones, and his daughter, who first showed it to me, said she believed that before he reached the spot, some four feet or more had been broken off the broader (south) end.

The position where the stone stands is striking, but difficult to describe. It is a long, low hillock in a wide plain. To the south there is only a mile or two of low ground, but to the north and east the view is very extensive. While standing by the stone I could see on the north-west Minard Point, on the north side of Dingle Bay; to the north-east the Stack Mountains, and to the

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east the mountains on the boundary of County Cork.

The stone itself is a large block of sandstone, some four feet in height, and six feet wide. The entire length at present is nine feet, but the flat carved top only measures seven feet four inches in length, as the northern side slopes gradually instead of being upright like the



(Carved Stone at Gortbuee, North Dunkerron)

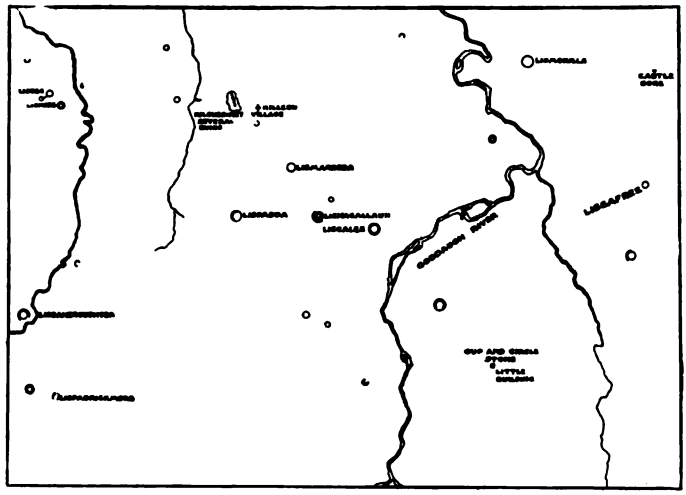
others. The largest circle on the stone is twelve inches in diameter, and the cups and hollows vary in size down to about an inch across. It was difficult to be certain whether some hollows were cups or merely natural inequalities in the stone, but I have only given those which seemed to be unmistakably the work of man. It is the most elaborately-carved "cup-and-circle" stone I have seen. An opinion I have heard expressed is that it was

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intended as a map of the forts, etc., in the neighbourhood; but though those forts are very numerous, and may very probably have been still more plentiful in former days, there are difficulties in accepting this theory. One is that no one making a map of the district would have ignored the streams which flow through it, especially the Gaddaugh River. However, I give a small map of the immediate neighbourhood, that our readers may judge for themselves.

In the same field stood what looked like a small old building, in shape somewhat like the "Oratory" at Gallerus. If this were its original shape, the upper part has gone, and a pile of stones from the neighbouring fields have been thrown on it. The lower part, however, shows some very large stones, carefully built, but without mortar.

C. HUSSEY.



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Forgotten Dead---

Place Names Obliterated.

UNDER this first heading the late Archdeacon Rowan had some fifty years ago a press argument in the "Tralee Chronicle" about some graves he had come upon when making a road through Glen'aish. He had doubts as to their antiquity owing to the wonderful preservation of the bones therein. But the late Father Casey, P.P., a well-informed antiquarian, and the late Mr. Cooke, also curious in such matters, believed them to be the remains of the Milesians, who some three thousand years ago had landed at Camp and fought their first battle there. Mr. Windele, of Cork, also attributed them to the Milesians, whereupon a controversy as to the possible duration of human bones ensued. Archdeacon Rowan at first followed the lead of local tradition, which believed these graves to be the remains of persons who were killed when two Geraldine brothers who, "once upon a time," lived in the adjacent castles of Camp and Glandine, and constantly fought for possession of this glen.

Ultimately, however, it was the generally accepted belief—a belief confirmed by more recent proofs—that these remains were those of Milesians—the earliest Celts to settle in Ireland—and that the glen itself was named

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after the Pagan Princess, Fas, who accompanied that expedition and was buried in the glen.

After returning from a Continental tour, on January 1st, 1851, Archdeacon Rowan thus gave vent to his feelings of delight on returning to his favourite mountain retreat:—

"GLEN-AISH."

"There is a deep joy I cannot speak
Springs up within me, as again
Thy fresh breeze strikes upon my cheek,
My own wild, lonesome mountain glen;
Thy river sends its gentle brawl
Like friendly words upon my ear,
And from thy hoarse-voiced waterfall
Something like welcoming I hear.

"Old rugged mountain range once more
I hail your furrowed heath-clad face;
True; since our communing before,
I've looked on many a foreign grace—
Graces which men say they have found,
Their truant hearts from home-ties stealing;
Yet trust me, ne'er on foreign ground,
Felt I one loosened homestead feeling.

"I saw the vine-clad hills of France,
And climbed the steep Vesuvian mount,
Then laid me down in classic trance
By Numa's Roman nymph-named fount;
The southern sunshine brightly fell
On classic lands and hills of vine,
I loved its glow, but would not dwell
Away from this dear glen of mine.

"What tie is this? so strong, so strange,
Which distance strengthens, time can't part—
A 'lengthening chain,'' where'er we range,
Linking mute nature and man's heart;
A chain which gold nor makes, nor buys,
Which lives through want, can time withstand.
What is it? All the magic lies
In three short words—Our Native Land.

A. B. Rowan."

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On 29th June, 1858, Archdeacon Rowan read a paper at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy upon the Milesian remains in Glen-aish. He referred to Keating's account of "Glenfas and Glenscoheen—(the glen eight miles to the east, now known as Foley's Glen) as being as well known then (1858) as any place in the county"; adding: "Though Keating's history of Milesian princesses was sometimes doubted, the places are historic." In that paper the Ogham pillar, lying in Glenfas, its companion gallaun or pillar stone, still standing twelve feet above the ground, with the rows of cists or graves, were fully described. All this portion of the valley lies west of Caherconree, and is now indicated on ordnance map as the townland of Camp. The old district known as Glenfas or Glen'aish (phonetic?) included all the valley on the west side and along the northern face of Caherconree, until you come to the boundary of Derrymore. Archdeacon Rowan seems only to have known of the remains in the western portion of the valley; he certainly left no note as to the little church at the north-east end of Glen'aish.

Mr. Windele was for some years a regular correspondent, though never able to visit Archdeacon Rowan at Glenfas or Glen'aish. But, after Archdeacon Rowan's death—which took place in 1861—Mr. Windele visited West Kerry, and noted the curious little church at the eastern end of the valley, now called Kilelton. He briefly said that "it appears to be the remains of a sixth century church." Previous to this no one seems to have noticed the church at all. Archdeacon Rowan was apparently unaware of its existence. That distinguished antiquarian, Mr. Du Noyer, who has left such exquisite sketches and accurate descriptions of West Kerry antiquities (see Trinity College Library) never noticed Kilelton Church; neither did our local genius, the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock, who spent the larger part of

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his life searching for antiquities in Kerry. No old survey or ordnance map marks this very interesting spot.

It was not until the late Miss M. A. Hickson, in 1857, read the brief mention of Kilelton Church, made many years previously by Mr. Windele, and then visited the spot, that diligent search was made as to its origin. She immediately wrote to Colonel Rowan asking him "where was Glenfas—or Glen-aish—this place was named Kilelton." Colonel Rowan's reply was as follows: "I never heard of such a place as Glenaish. There is no townland of that name in Corkaguinney or, as far as I know, anywhere near it. My place near Kilgobbin is called Kilteenbane (i.e., the little white wood). It is on the ordnance sheets 36, 37, 45, 46, and contains 1,186 acres. I believe the glen across the end of Caherconree is called Glounglass. This may be the place you want. There is, I know, one Ogham stone there, and there may be more; also gallauns 10 to 12 feet high. There is a tradition of a great battle there in old times, and there were some cists or graves exposed in cutting a road there many years ago."

Miss Hickson was a keen and well-informed antiquarian; this church much impressed her, apparently Christian as to date, but incongruously surrounded by Pagan relics. She took some photos, made copious notes, describing the little church as raised upon a mound, surrounded with a circle of stones most of them still upright,—and with the remains of several beehive huts adjacent. Being Hon. Secretary for South Kerry to the R.S.A.I., she immediately forwarded her notes to that Society. Forthwith Mr. P. J. Lynch, F.R.S.A.I., always keen on Irish antiquities, visited Kilelton and made a plan of the church, with its surroundings, for the R.S.A.I. Later on, December, 1898, Miss Hickson's paper on these relics, with Mr. P. J. Lynch's sketches, were published in that Society's journal,

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Curiosity was now aroused, and many persons interested have since visited Kilelton, and research has identified (as far as such ancient story can be proved) that the tumulus or mound upon which that sixth century church is built covers the remains of the Pagan Princess Fas. Princess Fas was wife to one of the Celtic invaders said to have landed at Camp 2,000 years B.C. This is the date given to the cists or graves on the western part of the valley, and apparently all that valley —a large district, including Kilteenbane, Glandine, Curraghduff, Camp and Kilelton, with Maumnaholtora— was named Glenfas, after this Princess. An old poem quoted by "Keating" has the following lines:—

"The vale where the lovely Fas fell
From her, as ancient records tell,
Obtained the name Glenfas."

Certain it is the great Milesian invaders fought their great battle here in Glenfas. Phonetic spelling would make this Glen'aish, as my father has it in his poem, while modern ordnance maps have effaced the old name, and divided this district into the six names now familiar to the inhabitants.

Beneath the present road to Dingle, a little to the west of Kilelton, stands a cromlech which is supposed to mark the grave of some other notable of that time. Following the mountain range eastward, for about eight miles, you come to Glenscoheen, where Princess Scotia, daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, wife of Gatheleus, who was son of Nealus the Grecian, is buried. A large flat stone, once propped by pillar stones, now almost covered with surrounding ground, was there visible some years ago. "Hanmer's History of Early Ireland" gives more than one version as to the date of Scotia and Gatheleus, but the more generally received date is 2416, "of the date of the world," which would ordinarily be read, about 2,000 B.C. Gatheleus was said to have been banished from his own country because of his raids into Macedonia; therefore he voyaged northward until he

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came to Ireland. In Ireland he was held in great esteem because of his wonderful knowledge of all things, especially of language. "He greatly enriched and beautified the Irish tongue, taught them letters, sought out their antiquities, and trained their youth in warlike exercises of the Grecian and Egyptian people." Query—Where do his bones lie?

To return to the Princess Fas's grave. "It is said" that the little church, built upon her grave, was used as a place of private meditation by St. Brendan, who, when he retired there for privacy and prayer, looked across the bay to Fenit, calling for blessings on the place of his birth, and thanking God that Christians had supplanted Pagans in the land.

The cromlech at Maumnaholtora is now forgotten. In 1650 that portion, called Glendine, with other lands, was given by Cromwell to Mr. Carrigue or Carrick. On Glandine, close by the cromlech, was a 15th century church, built when Kilelton was "out-of-date; this was now effaced, and the Roman Catholic peasant worshippers scattered. They retreated up the mountain to the wilder region of Kilelton, where, in a certain privacy, they were enabled to carry on their worship in the old church. When the penal laws were relaxed, a chapel was erected at Camp; later again, one at Derrymore was built, so that we may say from the sixth century to the present time those who lived in that district have had Christian churches wherein to worship God.

All those persons mentioned in this paper have long since passed away. The fact that their names have lived through so many centuries proves them to have been of note and worthy of remembrance. Fas, the Pagan Princess, who brought with her to Ireland the first female "healer of the sick"; Scotia, after whom Ireland was then named; Gatheleus, who brought learning, great knowledge and prowess, which he taught by precept and example, nigh on 4,000 years ago; and St. Brendan, the

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Christian Minister, who in the tiny church built on the Pagan's grave thanked God for mercies given, and prayed for blessings on the land of his birth. What visions of the past these names call up! What a faint glimpse of great thoughts, high hopes, brave hearts, and strenuous labour they have left us for an example! The graves of those great dead, that tiny church for Christian worship, call upon us to do and dare, as they in their generation did, for our fellows now on earth.

Then, what about place-names? Why are they vanishing from the land? In 1859 Glenfas, Glen'aish, Glenscothian were "well-known" in all this country. In 1898, after existing over 5,000 years, they were "unknown"—unknown even by those who lived on the spot. Colonel Rowan—the son of the Archdeacon who wrote about the glen in 1858—"had never heard that name given to any place in the barony." Now, excepting to a few antiquarians, those old names are entirely forgotten; this, or the whole district, is marked on all ordnance maps under new designations.

In an adjoining district there is another very recent and curious change of name. On the slob at Tonevane are the remains of a very old church, wherein there is a most curious old stone. This was the old parish church of Annagh, "Annagh" meaning "the church on the wet strand." Blennerville church replaced this parish church, and though built on a drier spot, was always known as Annagh parish church. Now it is called "St. Anne's Church." Why? Echo answers—Why?

Thus it is, though we are told—indeed, we see—that knowledge increases every day, that older knowledge is being lost, buried beneath the dust of years. Thus it is, old place names disappear, and with them we lose the loadstones which should draw us towards those mighty dead, who left us examples of a great spirit which we would do well to follow.

A. M. ROWAN.

June 29th, 1908.

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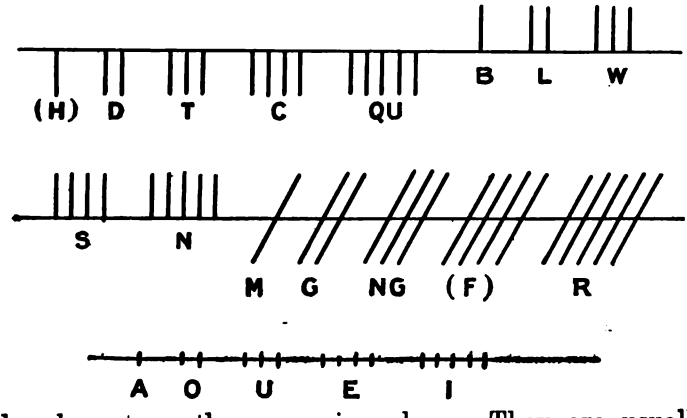
Notes & Queries

COUNTY LIMERICK.

1. We are glad to learn that an Archæological Association has been started in County Limerick. Formerly antiquarian work in the district, including County Clare, was carried on by the Limerick Field Club; but so successfully that they have found it necessary to form a separate society for that branch of their work, and have decided to call it the "North Munster Archæological Society." As the histories of Kerry and Limerick have been so closely interwoven, especially under the Desmonds, some of our members will, I hope, be able to give them assistance in their researches.

OGHAM CHARACTERS.

2. For the benefit of any readers who may be fortunate enough to find Ogham inscriptions, and who do not know



the characters, they are given here. They are usually carved on the corner or edge of a stone.

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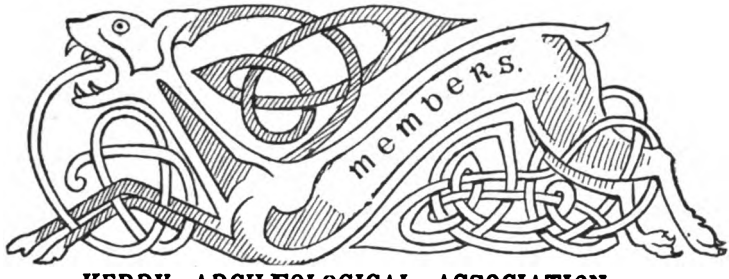
3. The Editor will be most grateful for any photographs or sketches of forts, ruins, carved stones, or other antiquities from all parts of Kerry. It is even more difficult to obtain illustrations for our magazine than literary matter, and we ought sooner or later to illustrate as well as describe every old monument in this county.

4. The second part of King's history of Kerry has now made its appearance, and will doubtless be as popular as the first part. It contains a large number of antiquarian notes and queries, and a history of the Eager family; and Mr. King is to be congratulated on the vast amount of information on Kerry history which he has collected. Note 391 gives a very curious account of cattle-driving in the year 1769, and the efforts of the Government to suppress it. The little volume is issued in cheap form, but is worthy of better binding than the paper wrapper in which it has been sent forth.



St. Brendans' Oratory, built over Fa's Grave.

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No. 3 OCTOBER, 1909.



Kerry Archaeological Magazine.

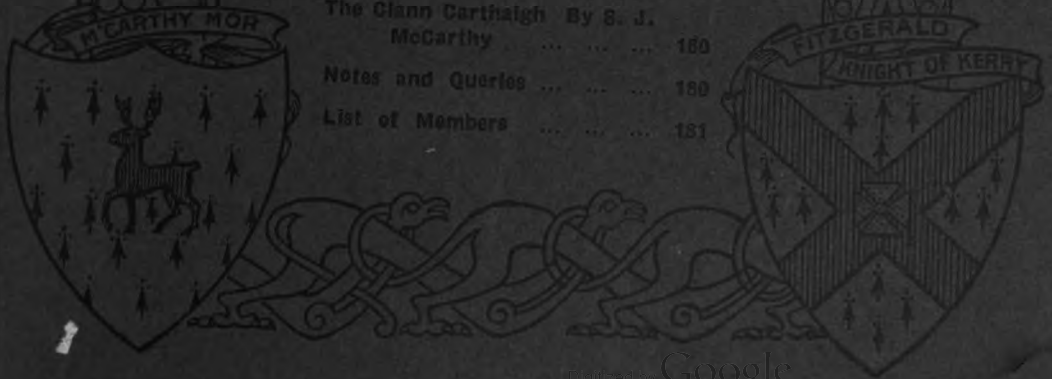


Carving from Ardfert Cathedral.

Pillar from Doorway at Aghadoe.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Story of Castle Magne (Part III.) By Rev. James Carmody, P.P.	119
Kerry Royal Descents	142
The Legend of Sybil Head .. By Captain Crane, D.S.O.	143
The Castles and Abbeys of the County Kerry. By James Coleman, M.R.S.A.I.	148
The Clann Carthaigh By S. J. McCarthy	160
Notes and Queries	180
List of Members	181

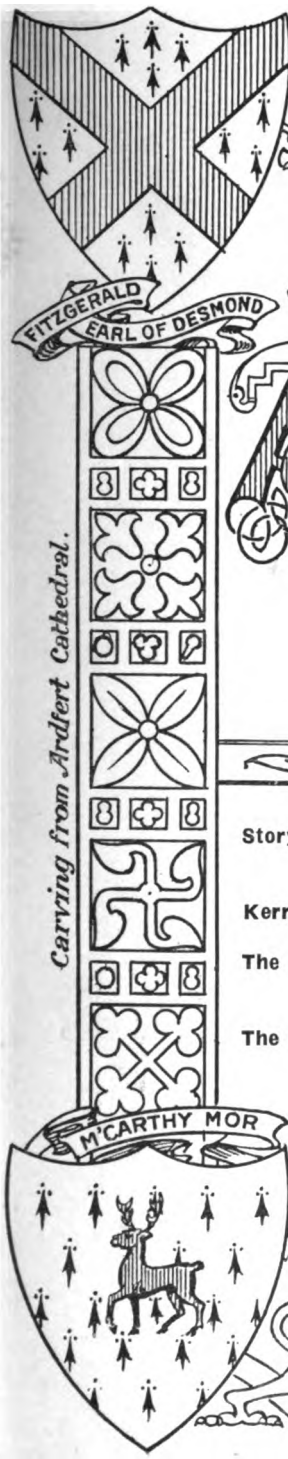


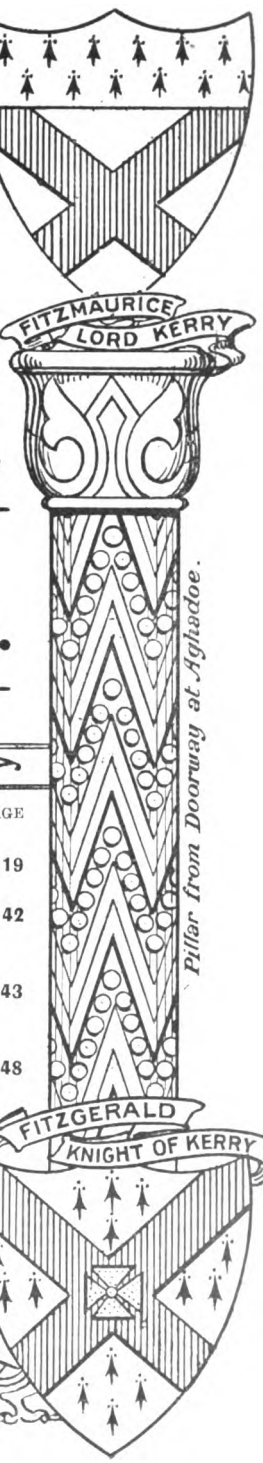
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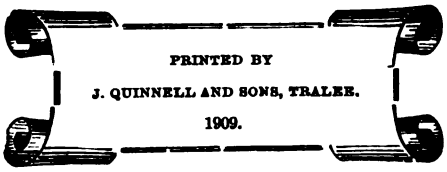




CONTENTS

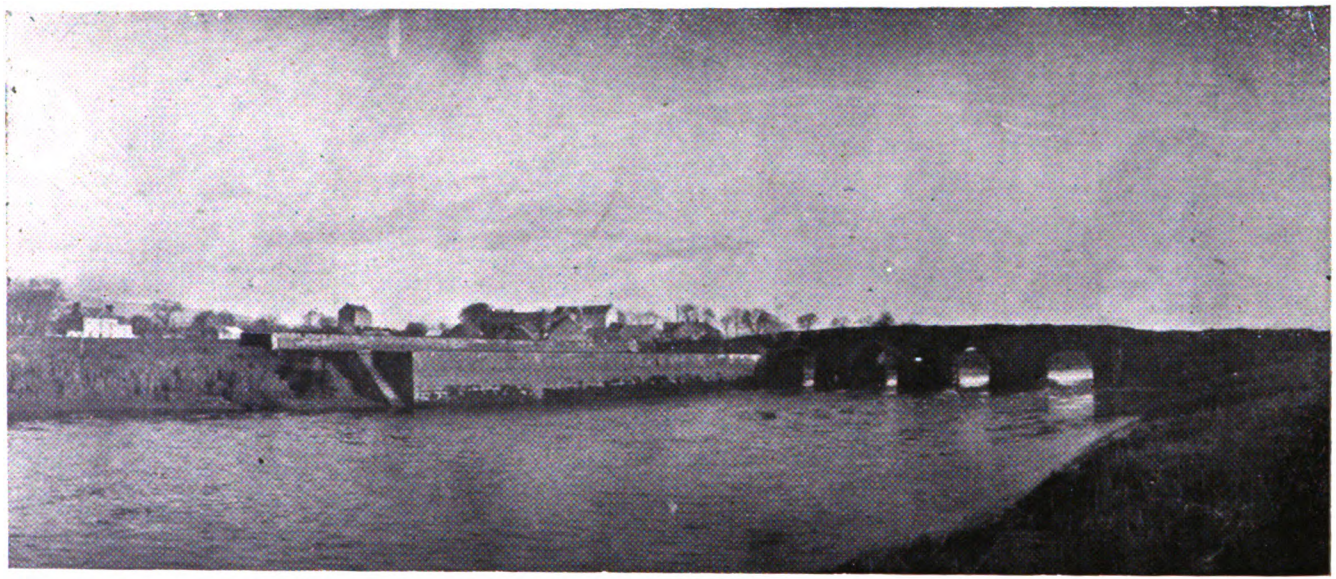
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The Clann Carthaigh By S. J. McCarthy	160
Notes and Queries	180
List of Members	181

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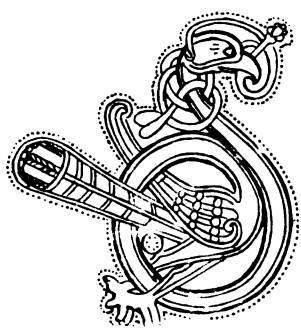
CASTLEMAINE BRIDGE (Seen from the West).

Taken by Major J. McGillycuddy.

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Story of Castle Magne, Co. Kerry.

BY THE REV. JAMES CARMODY, P.P.



ONAL McCARTHY MOR, Earl of Clancarthy, owner of wide demesnes and suzerain of a Principality, was at this time growing old. Unusual interest attached to this chieftain's waning life, from the fact that he had now no legitimate heir. His only son, Baron of Valentia, had been given up as a hostage to Justice Wynge in 1578; he had been detained for three years in Cork, was taken to London, and sent back to Dublin in 1583. Some time in that year the boy had been spirited away to France, whether with the connivance of his father or not cannot now be ascertained. Little more was heard of him, but he was believed to have died within a few months after his arrival in that country. McCarthy Mor's vast possessions then bid fair to become the property of English settlers. One little difficulty remained, however. McCarthy Mor had an only daughter, Lady Helen; but the cautious Queen had made provision for succession in her case. Elizabeth put the matter beyond question, and had made her purpose clear—that Lady Helen should marry a gentleman of the English nation, one who should have her own royal sanction. In this

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arrangement for his daughter the reckless Donal betrayed little interest. The death of his son and heir appears to have rendered him only more thriftless and improvident. He was now ready to barter his choicest lands for ready money, by whomsoever offered; even the rich lands and castle of Molahiffe were mortgaged to Sir Valentine Browne at a tithe of their value.

Round the person of Lady Helen much interest naturally centred. As no Irishman could claim her hand, the English system of land tenure (1) and plantation on a large scale must soon obtain in Desmond; even proposals were being already made for division of McCarthy Mor's territory. That provident knight, Sir William Herbert, in 1588 engaged his powerful friend, Sir Francis Walsingham, to further his suit with Elizabeth for possession, after McCarthy Mor's death, of the three castles—Castle Lough, Pallis, and Ballycarbery, together with 6,000 acres of land in Kerry, 6,000 in Desmond, and 6,000 around the castles, a modest proposal truly from the man who had secured the trifle of 13,000 acres already.

Meanwhile the marriage of Lady Helen was engaging no small share of attention. Sir Warham St. Leger undertook to negotiate an alliance for the young lady with Sir Thomas Norreys, Lord President of Munster, but his efforts were fruitless. A match with Mr. Nicholas Browne was suggested; the idea, it was said, found favour with McCarthy Mor and was approved by Her Majesty; neither was this successful. The fact was, this haughty damsel, inheritor of the spirit and pride of a long line of princes, was not to be disposed of irrespective of her choice. McCarthy Mor had occasion at this time to visit England, and for the present no further proposals could be made. Donal while in London did not often write to his family. Florence McCarthy, tanist of Carbery, and cousin of Lady Helen, who had lived at Court, happened to be

(1) According to Brehon Law, each member of a clan had rights in the land belonging to that clan, independent of the claim of the Chieftain. If the Chieftain lost his claim, that in no way interfered with the rights possessed by each member of the clan.

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coming to Ireland, and by him McCarthy Mor sent letters to the Countess. The heiress at this time was living with her mother at Pallis. She could be seen in the morning tripping across the fields to Mass at the family church of Killalee, but otherwise did not often appear abroad. Things seemed quietly running their course in Munster, when one day, in April, 1588, that Province was startled by a most sensational report —that Lady Helen, despite and in defiance of the Queen's declared wishes, had "married privately in an old broken church and with the Mass," Florence McCarthy, her cousin, and prospective owner of immense estates in Carbery. Had a Spanish fleet landed on the coast, and a Spanish army penetrated to the heart of Desmond, the news would not have caused more sensation. It was soon found that the report was true; it was even hinted that the letters brought by Florence even hinted that the letters brought by Florence McCarthy to the Countess conveyed the Earl's sanction to the marriage: nor did the story seem improbable. Some days after the return of her cousin, Lady Helen and the Countess walked over to Mass to Killaloe; they there met Florence and O'Sullivan Mor, the young parties were married, the Countess and O'Sullivan being the sole witnesses to the fateful alliance.

There was chagrin and anger on all sides. The well-arranged plan for the planting of Desmond had been defeated at one stroke. The Queen, in particular, whose authority had been set at nought, was wrought up to one of her constitutional fits of fury. She sent letters to her Ministers in Ireland to know "the means and manner by which the said Florence had compassed the marriage with the Erle of Clancartie's daughter." Every available item of information on the subject was set forth by Norreys in ample detail. When shall the thunderbolt burst? April is over, May, June has come. Perhaps Elizabeth, contrary to her usual manner, will let pass over this now irreparable misfortune. Far from it. The affairs of Ireland, we are told by Cecil, were

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causing grave annoyance to Elizabeth; what, then, did the authors of this audacious plot not deserve? In June, Captain Springe, by orders of Norreys, proceeded to the Castle of Pallis, and arrested the Countess, McFinin, Teig Merrigagh, the Earl's Constable, and others, and shut them up in the fortress of Castle Magne. Lady Helen and Florence were taken to Cork, and there committed to prison.

The settlers were baulked in their anticipations of participating in the division of Desmond, and the vials of their wrath were poured upon Florence McCarthy, by whom their hopes were frustrated. One of them wrote to Sir Edward Denny, who was known to be in high favour at Court: "Sir, I am familiar with you as a neighbour and bold as a friend, wherefore, I pray you, think of Tom Spring, and we sometimes were in the Privy Chamber. . . . Concerning Finin McCarthy, if occasion be ministered, preach at least how dangerous a subject he may prove."

With such powerful enemies, Florence's chances of pardon were but slight. Still the young couple made time pleasant as far as their restricted liberty would allow. Sympathy in their case was strong and universal, and so we find prison to them proved a place of very mild restraint; the happy couple even held high revel with their friends, in banquets, and music, and dance. To Florence's enemies this was unendurable, and a complaint went forward to Walsingham that Florence McCarthy showed little signs of repentance for his fault "at Cork where he remaineth with the resort of his friends and the Erle's daughter, with small restraint, he rather rejoiceth banquetting than he seemeth sorry for his contempt." As might be expected, a rude severance was soon made between the sorrowing pair. Florence McCarthy was taken to London and given in charge to Sir Owen Hopton, Lieutenant of Her Majesty's Tower; Lady Helen, owing to her tender years—she was scarcely 17—was treated with more consideration. She was permitted to remain in Cork, in charge of a

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gentleman "attached to the staff of the President of Munster," and allowed the liberty of the town.

Florence McCarthy had disappeared, and then the question arose: Could no remedy be found for the ill-starred alliance? Among the suggestions made, that put forward by the wily St. Leger met with most approval. The lady was still under age, and his advice was, that McCarthy Mor should be got to procure a divorce without delay in her marriage with Florence McCarthy. The idea was gaining ground; legal minds solemnly pronounced it feasible, and the Queen's Ministers all seemed pleased with it. The project of annulling the marriage was finally decided on, and arrangements set on foot for "bestowing the heiress, together with a patent of inheritance of the Earl's country, on some English gentleman."

But then came a sensation scarcely less startling than the marriage. One evening in February, 1589, Lady Helen failed to turn up to her custodian. Active inquiries were instantly made, search parties organised, but the utmost efforts proved unavailing to obtain the slightest hint or suggestion of where the young lady had fled. The only tidings forthcoming were, that two female figures, partly disguised, were seen to pass out of the city at dusk, just before the closing of the gates; they were met by a man who appeared to be loitering in the vicinity; all three passed hastily on, and were soon lost in the darkness; and no more was seen or heard of them. The female figures were believed to have been Lady Helen and her maid, and all the resources of the Crown were fruitless to discover the least clue to their whereabouts afterwards.

But how had it fared with the Countess in Castle Magne? It is revolting to think of the indignity offered to the wife, the sister, and the daughter of an Earl; and the outrage becomes still more reprehensible when we remember that the author of it was a woman and a Queen. This high-born lady was dragged from her home, and immured in this close prison, surrounded

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by common soldiers. What we can glean of her history proves her a lady of irreproachable life; we remember her gracious services rendered in rescuing Dominic Miagh from the gallows. Before consenting to the marriage she had travelled all the way to Cloyne, to seek counsel of her friend, John FitzEdmond: and it was remarked by one not friendly to her that "she would never have given her daughter to Florence McCarthy if he were not a sincere Catholic." We must not overlook the grounds on which she was condemned —that she gave consent to the marriage of her daughter with a gentleman in every sense her equal.

To provoke Elizabeth's displeasure is what the boldest of her Ministers would shrink from, and to manifest sympathy for the Countess Clancarthy under present circumstances was not likely to find favour with Her Majesty. Still, Sir William Herbert had the courage to speak on her behalf. He had indeed his own strong motive for so doing,—a motive, too, that would probably tell with Elizabeth. Writing to Walsingham, he gravely states, that the Countess being now old, McCarthy Mor wished by ill-usage to hasten her death, intending then to enter into a new marriage in the hope of raising up an heir to the Earldom, and thereby defeat the Queen's purpose of planting Desmond. "He wisheth the Countess trouble and ruin, that by her death he might advance himself to some new marriage, whereby Her Majesty's right to remainder may be impeached." He requested Walsingham to enlarge her "out of that vile and unwholesome place," and offers to give her an asylum in his house until Her Majesty's pleasure was further known. Happily, Sir William Herbert's appeal was successful, and Sir Thomas Norreys was ordered to liberate the Countess.

We find some consolation in the tardy justice done this noble lady ten years later by the author of her wrong. After McCarthy Mor's death in 1598, Elizabeth gave orders in a "Warrant to the Government in Ireland to allot a Dower to Hanora Countess of Clancarthy,

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. . a full third of all the Erle's castles, lands, rents, services, customs and duties, etc.." And whatever we may think of Sir William Herbert in other matters, we cannot refuse him our meed of praise for pleading in defence of a distressed and friendless lady.

The subjugation of Ireland, the life-dream of Elizabeth, had not yet become a reality. In Munster the settlers were making little headway, while the Irish seemed slowly regaining life. The relations between the parties, never cordial, were becoming daily more embittered; indeed, there were not wanting strong evidences of discontent among the native septs, and a spirit ready for revolt should the opportunity offer. Hugh O'Neill, in the North, had been maintaining a successful war against the Government forces then making encroachments on his frontiers; and having gained some decisive victories, the thought struck him to stir up rebellion in Munster, that by dividing the Queen's troops he might weaken the attack against himself. He even conceived the idea of arming the entire country against the Government, which ultimately proved the most formidable resistance to British rule in Ireland since the Norman Invasion. The success of the experiment must have surprised O'Neill himself. In October, 1598, he sent two of his Generals, Tyrrell and John Fitzgerald, into Munster, and Cecil was informed that "the very day they set foot within the Province, Munster to a man was in arms before noon." The Generals, by orders of O'Neill, proceeded to appoint a new Earl of Desmond, and a new McCarthy Mor, assigning them the rights and privileges that belonged to their ancient houses. James FitzThomas was declared Earl of Desmond. This James was son of Thomas, eldest brother of Gerald of Glounaneenta, who claimed the Earldom on Gerald's death; Gerald's son was at this time a prisoner in the Tower. Soon the whole country, from North to South, was in a state of wild excitement, and the Undertakers in Munster, alarmed for their safety, fled precipitately from their homes. A manu-

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script history of that period lying in the State Paper Office gives a sarcastic account of the flight of the settlers. The writer says, "the misery of the Englishry was very great, . . the wealthier sort leaving their castles and dwelling-houses, and their victual and furniture, made haste within walled towns where there was no enemy within ten miles . . to Her Highnes great dishonour and their own deserved shame and discredit forever. . . Mainwaring—I marvel at him more than all the rest, considering his old occupation in England, acquainted with all the robbers and thieves in the land, that all the rebels in Ireland, brought up in the same school, would not favour him, or at least that he had none of his school points to defend himself." The writer speaks of the Island of Kerry, Firies, Tralee, and Castlemagne. "Generally all the English in Kerry ran away when there was no rebel within forty miles of them. . . In the County of Cork, Mallow, and the town being Sir Thomas Norreys, and he President of the Province, ran away first, together with his lady, into Cork. On the 11th October the Lord Lieutenant came to Kilmallock unlooked-for. The rebels had determined to storm the place. The town-folk had warning thereof, and finding themselves weak (faint hearts and white livers had they, yea, and a number of false hearts) determined to give up the town to safeguard their own lives, but when the Lord Lieutenant's trump sounded they opened their gates to him and threw up their caps. . . Tullow, a great town, all English man, woman and child, with thirty good shot, ran away, every one. . . William Lyons, Bishop of Cork, was loath to be a martyr, first he forsook a strong house all of stone . . which he had at Ross . . afterwards left a fine and a strong house he had without the walls of Cork, and fled into the city. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, urchin-wise, like Harry Pyne of Magylie, afore presaging the mischief to come, which he had no doubt secretly learned and concealed, made haste for England 'cam pannis,' as commonly we term it, with

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bag and baggage, got a bark, embarked, together with him his wife, family, and all that he had, and left the charge committed unto him at six and seven. Captain Fitton played the coward . . and ran away," etc.

As soon as FitzThomas had accepted the Earldom of Desmond every follower of his house joined his standard. "Before long FitzThomas found himself at the head of 8,000 well-weaponed men, in part his own followers, in part Bonoughts, hired, or sent by O'Neill and officered by himself." (2) Every castle in Munster, Castle Magne alone excepted, surrendered to him without striking a blow. Norreys, December 1598, writes: "All Munster is in rebellion. . . At present there are no castles or houses held for Her Majesty but Castlemaine in all Kerry." Captain Springe had been Constable until his death in 1597. He was succeeded by Sir Warham St. Leger, as appears from the following among the State Papers:

> "That Sir Warham Sent Leger be appointed to the office of Constable of the castle of Castlemagne in the Province of Munster: during good behaviour, with a fee of 3s. a day for himself, nine pence a day for four horsemen, and eight pence a day for thirteen footmen; to hold in as ample a manner as John Savadge or Thomas Springe held that office. Dublin, last of August, 1597."

St. Leger, though appointed Constable and receiving the emoluments, probably never resided in the castle; neither is it likely that those who succeeded him in the office ever took active charge there. "From the quality of the Constable," says the Kerry Magazine, "'it seems certain that the office was thenceforward executed by Deputy, at least as long as any real service was attached thereto." St. Leger had gone to Cork, and given charge of the place to Sir Edward Denny, with orders to victual it, for which an allowance of £40 was made. Fitz-Thomas, called by the English, in contempt, the

(2) Unpublished Geraldine Documents, page 152.

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"Sougan Earl," came before the castle with a large force in October, 1598, and prepared to reduce it. Castle Magne once more was the stronghold on which the nation's eyes were turned. Outside of Cork, this was the only spot in Munster the Queen could call her own, and this now stood in deadly peril. The Queen and Cecil wrote letters to St. Leger to defend the place at all hazards, but he could not give them much comfort. He said he had neither stores nor men, and even if he had, he had no means of transporting them thither. The Government in Ireland at this time was in a most disorganised state; it had neither provisions nor ammunition nor effective forces. "In the garrison places," says Norreys, "only thirty barrels of powder remain, and no lead or match." And St. Leger writes: "The need of soldiers is very great,. . . want of victuals and money,, and soldiers clothes, is such that with much ado we can hold the army together." FitzThomas continued his attack on the fortress till the beginning of January, 1599, but his efforts were unavailing; and having placed there 200 men to effect a strict blockade, he departed, with the balance of his forces, to establish his power through the Province.

The Ward—thirty men—were making a gallant stand. The Castle could never be taken if they had food, but they had scarcely any, and what they had was of the most inferior kind; while their supply of stores was defective. They had indeed two barrels of powder, but neither match nor lead; they had cannon and muskets, but these were useless without ammunition. St. Leger sent round a pinnace with provisions, but as soon as it appeared on the river it was taken up for James FitzThomas. The most pressing letters came to Norreys to make some shift to relieve the castle, but he could do nothing. The months passed, and there was no change in the condition of the besieged. Summer came, and still no assistance. Autumn came, when provisions should be plentiful; still no relief. Letters came to St. Leger—Constable—the man

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chiefly responsible, charging him with neglecting the Ward. He replied that food was being sent out from the Ports of Cork, Kinsale, Youghal and Limerick, and word had been sent to Galway to put out with the first wind with provisions. No doubt food did go out from these ports, but it fell into the hands of FitzThomas's soldiers, and never reached the castle. Must this last stronghold of Elizabeth in Munster yield to the rebels? There were the gravest fears that it would. Dingle was now in the hands of the insurgents; the town had been defended by her people for the Queen, but had lately surrendered to Sir Thomas.

O'Neill had at this time become virtually King of Ireland. Essex, Lord Deputy, went from Dublin with a considerable force to quell the rebellion, but his march through the country was marked by a series of disasters. He then proceeded to Ulster, and sought to secure by treaty what he was unable to effect by force. He met O'Neill by appointment, and as a result of their conference a truce was concluded, to continue from six weeks to six weeks, with regular terms of agreement which were ratified by both.

Under cover of this treaty the Commissioners in Cork sought to victual Castle Magne, but FitzThomas denied that the truce gave any such right to victual. A vessel went round, with two barrels of salt and four carcases of beef, but the besiegers would not allow her to enter. The Commissioners claimed that O'Neill by special stipulation had granted permission to relieve the castle. FitzThomas replied grandly that this was more than he knew. The Commissioners said they would insist on taking in provisions; FitzThomas came to the spot with 1,000 men to see it was not done.

Meanwhile the condition of the Ward had become desperate; of this FitzThomas was fully conscious, and quietly bided his time. The place had been closely invested for the past thirteen months, and no food received during all that time except an occasional dole

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smuggled in with difficulty and risk. "Castlemaine," says the Manuscript History before referred to, "was long defended by the Ward without any means but their own shifts, which cost John Middleton, a fine Clerk, his life, not having his natural diet." All hopes of relief had gone; not a word of encouragement reached the Ward, and there remained absolutely not a day's rations. On the 4th November the Commandant called a parley, and FitzThomas came forward. The Commandant, assuming a bold air, hazarded the statement that they had still in the Castle provisions for six months, to which FitzThomas attached little credence; still he was ready to give up the place if he and his men were allowed their liberty and their lives. FitzThomas granted them both. The soldiers got safe conduct to Cork, while FitzThomas took possession of the castle and put in his Ward. He elected for Constable, Thomas Oge Fitzgerald, of Ardnagragh, and charged him with the safe keeping of the fortress; and Thomas Oge made declaration he would be true to his charge.

The loss of Castle Magne caused much vexation at the English Court, and St. Leger was charged with this crowning misfortune. A letter from Justice Carey to Cecil, November, 1599, says: "Castlemaine, being Her Majesty's is lost," and in the margin a note appears: "Sir Warham Sent Leger had the keeping of Castlemaine." St. Leger, writing to the Privy Council, urged that he did what was possible to relieve the place; that he was bound by his Commission to remain in Cork, and winds up a most apologetic epistle: "For the loss of the house I humly confess that it is somewhat dishonourable, but whensoever it pleaseth Her Majesty to recover Kerry and these countries that house will soon be had." Brave language truly; but in the present aspect of things something other than tall talk was needed if Elizabeth were to retain hold of this realm. Never since the coming of Strongbow had the English interest stood in direr peril than at this hour; and now

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appeared on the scene a new character—the wily, resolute, relentless Sir George Carew.

It is difficult to understand how such a man could hold a Commission under Her Majesty. He had come prominently before the Irish public at least once already —when he was charged with stabbing a man in cold blood at a public meeting in the streets of Dublin. He made his escape with his fellow-assassins to England; but at the inquest a jury of the Pale declared him guilty of the wilful murder of Owen O'Nassie, and characterized the crime as peculiarly savage and daring. Still he was never brought to justice, and after seven years the announcement was made that Her Majesty, by Letters Patent, had appointed Sir George Carew President of Munster, with the commission to suppress the rebellion in that province. He entered on his charge on 24th April, 1600. A difficult task lay before him, but what a capable, unscrupulous commander could do, he might be relied on to achieve. He has given an account of his doings in Ireland in "Pacata Hibernia," and to this day the work is accepted as a truthful record. Alas! it is mostly from unfriendly pens like this the world knows our history.

After some months in Cork, Carew made a tour through Munster, retaking Glin, Carrigafoyle, Listowel and other castles, but turned aside from Castle Magne, about which, however, he was not indifferent. He saw from the start that James FitzThomas was his great difficulty; and one of two things must be done, either to remove him or set up a rival. The rival was ready to hand in James, the son of Gerald, of Glounaneenta, now in the Tower; and Carew entreated the Privy Council to get Elizabeth to send James over to Ireland restored in blood and title. The idea was hateful to Elizabeth; it conjured up visions of a new Desmond Rebellion to her mind. The costly and protracted struggle with Desmond, his father, and the loss of so many lives, was still fresh in her remembrance. Still, yielding to the importunities of Cecil and Carew, she

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gave a reluctant consent. On the 24th of September Cecil wrote exultingly to Carew: "Now is the hour come that you shall receive the person of the Earl of Desmond." He was indeed going to Ireland, but Queen and Ministers were filled with anxiety and fear that he would, at the first opportunity, call his followers around him, and raise the standard of revolt. Cecil, especially, felt chiefly responsible, and wrote letter after letter to Carew, cautioning him to beware of this dangerous person, "For God doth know it, the Queen had been most hardly drawn into it that could be; and hath layd it in my dishe a dozen times, 'Well I pray God you and Carew be not deceived.'"

A few words of curious history regarding this unhappy youth may not be uninteresting to my readers, and may help to show how far these fears were justified. He was thirteen years of age when the gates of the Tower closed behind him in July 1584; thence for sixteen years no more was heard of him by the outside world. "He was thus 29 years of age 'when he arose from his tomb in the Tower' and was sent to extinguish the fiercest rebellion that had till then raged in Ireland." His life in the Tower would have remained for ever a mystery if it had not been for the accidental preservation of some bills of charges forwarded to the Government by Sir Owen Hopton. The youth seems to have been a victim to sickness and pain through all these years, and no portion of his diseased anatomy appears to have been long free from suffering. "Prodigious phisic-bills were sent in quarterly by his apothecary and surgeon and physician," whose regular attendance he required during the whole sixteen years. One bill contains sixty-four items, consisting of the following specifics among others: "2 bottles of syrup, 1 oz. of the best rhubarb, 3 bottles of diet drink, 2 doietes (?) for the head, 2 purgatives, perfumed lozenges for his ear, syrup for his nostrils, unguent, implaster, pillse, mastiegini for his back, ointment for his syde, his liver, his stomack, quiltes, coolynge oyntementes, laxatives

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cinrans, aqua celestis, acornes, barbaries (for a stitch), electuaries, water-lillyes, lixiviums, diapholmas, sugar-candye, etc."; bill subscribed. I stande to yor Honor's rewarde for my paines taken in curinge of Mr. James Garolde, at your Honor's pleasure. John Robertes, Surgion." An extract from a letter of the spiritless creature to Cecil may be added:

> "Honorable sir. Let it be not offensive, I beseech you, to be trobled with the lynes of an unknowne stranger, who though yong in yeres, yet being old in miserye, is taught thereby to apprehend any meanes of favour wheresoever vertue may move compassion. My hard fortune and my faultlessness, I hope ar nether unknown unto you; how only by being born the unfortunate son of a faulty father I have never since my infancy breathed out of prison, . . . the only hellish torment to a faithfull hart to be houlden in suspect when I never thought upon offence," etc.

This is not without its pathos, with which we could sympathise if it had not been for its chilling reference to a "faulty father." "He took his way to Bristol, whence when tide and wind served, with his horses and armour, his nurse (!) and sister, he took ship for Cork. He arrived in Youghal 14th October, 1600. As he passed through Youghal, and Cork, and Mallow, the people were in a perfect frenzy of delight. He must possess the noble spirit of that princely house, they thought, and all were filled with pity and hope which as yet they dared not breathe. He is now in England hands; but when he is free he will defy Saxon power, and say, as did his great father, "No Cessor, nor Constable, nor Sheriff shall ever exercise theire office in my contreye." He was guarded with as much care as a caged lion, and supplied with a host of keepers. Is he destined to escape from their hands, and raise aloft the dread Geraldine standard once more in Munster? Such were the thoughts in many minds. Negotiations were immediately set on foot for the recovery of Castle Magne. We

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may well believe Carew had already made overtures to Thomas Oge for the surrender of the castle. In a letter to Cecil he declared his hopes that the Queen's Earl will prevail with the Constable to yield up the place, and added, "but yf it fayle I doubt not by another stratagemine to regaine the same." This man of wiles did not explain the nature of "another stratagemine." Would Thomas Oge be true to his charge? FitzThomas's fortunes were declining. O'Neill, in the North, pressed by Ormond, withdrew some of his men from FitzThomas, and as the latter was proceeding with attenuated forces from Councloe to the fastnesses of Aherloe, in Tipperary, he was set upon by Captain Graeme and a company of cavalry, when his son, with some officers and sixty men, were slain, besides the loss of baggage and cattle. After this FitzThomas was unable to meet the Queen's forces in the open field. The Constable at Castle Maine apparently remained true to FitzThomas; he was well supplied with provisions, having laid tribute on the country round in the name of his master. However, he received friendly messages from the Queen's Earl—son of his former friend and leader—the great Gerald, for whom he had so often risked life and fortune, and perhaps on whose honoured grave he laid the last sod of earth at Kilananamagh. Thomas Oge had many sins to be forgiven by Her Majesty, and he was assured, though not officially, that all his transgressions would be condoned if he gave up Castle Magne to his friend's son.

There were at the castle, for protection, two sons of Pierce Lacy, the daring rebel who many a time and oft worked havoc among the Queen's forces. They were now orphans, their father having been hanged at Limerick by orders of Ormond. It was ascertained also that all FitzThomas's private correspondence was stored away in Castle Magne These and other things enhanced the value of the prize, if Thomas Oge could be got to prove false to the Sougan Earl. Thomas Oge was again approached on behalf of Gerald's son, and a private and

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confidential letter went forward, to be given into the hands of the young Earl in person. This was significant and might mean much. It proved to be nothing less than an offer to give up the castle to the young man himself, or to a duly authorised representative. Straightway on the 4th November, 1600, the young Earl sent his servant, John Power, to receive the castle from the Constable in the name of his master. Castle Magne did not remain long in the young Earl's hands, as Carew after a few days required him to give it over, and all it contained, to himself.

The young Earl soon went to Kilmallock, the great stronghold of his family, the President being anxious to test the feelings of his followers and kindred regarding him. He was accompanied by Meyler McGrath and Master Boyle, Clerk of the Council; and the latter was ordered by Carew to observe and note how the people acted towards him. They arrived there on a Saturday, in the evening. "There was a mighty concourse of people in so much as all the streets, doores, and windows, yea, the very gutters and tops of the houses were so filled with them as if they came to see him, whom God had sent to be that Comfort and Delight their souls and hearts most desired, and they welcomed him with all the expressions and signs of joy, everyone throwing upon him wheat and salt (as a prediction of future peace and plenty). . . The confluence of people that flocked thither was so great, as in half an hour he could not make his passage through the crowd. . . . The next day being Sunday, the Earl went to Church to hear Divine Service, and all the way his country people used loud and rude dehortations to keep him from Church, unto which he lent a deaf ear; but after service and the sermon was ended, the Earl coming forth of the Church, was railed at and spit upon by those who before were so desirous to see and salute him. . . . The Town was cleared out of that multitude of strangers, and the Earl thenceforward was as little followed and

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regarded as any other gentleman." (4) The people were disillusioned. This poor youth, weak in body and in mind, already despised by high-born and humble, they now knew was never intended by Heaven to be their Deliverer. Carew, too, understood things better, and becoming ashamed of his charge, had him despatched to England with as much expedition as decency allowed. He died after a few months from disappointment and chagrin; "the Letters-Patents which Her Majesty had granted for his restoration the President never delivered to him." The Queen, becoming weary of the cost of the Irish wars, and the difficulty of bringing them to an end, ordered that terms be offered to O'Neill such as he would be likely to accept. The terms offered were the free exercise of his religion and the undisturbed possession of his lands and goods. These were cheerfully agreed to, and peace was once more established.

It was "pacified Ireland." Castle Magne had its Constable, and this fortress, too, had its interval of rest. A notice appeared among the State Papers, December 8th, 1601, as follows:

> "That Charles Wilmott be appointed to the office of Constable of Castlemaigne, in the Province of Munster, during good behaviour, in as ample a manner as John Savadge, Thomas Springe, or Warham Saint Leger held that office."

Castle Magne was again in Her Majesty's hands, and she now undertook to erect it into a place of importance, if not to make it the capital of the country. She writes accordingly to the Privy Council in Dublin, directing "That it would be much for the furtherance of our service and strengthening of the best part of our Province that habitations were drawn to Castlemayne . . which would follow by granting a corporation with some competent freedoms and liberties, with officers for the government thereof, etc. . . To our right trusty and well-beloved the Lord Mountjoy, Deputy of our Realme." 19th December, 1602. After a few short months the

(4) Pacata Hibernia v. 1, p. 132.

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reins of power dropped for ever from the nerveless hands of Elizabeth, and the commission remained a dead letter.

Castle Magne must have suffered much damage from its many sieges, and so there appears the following among Carew's "Notes for the government of Ireland: "The bridge of Castlemange to be repaired."

In 1608 Sir Thomas Roper was made "Constable of Castlemaigne, himself at 2s. 3d., 4 horsemen at 6¾d. the piece, and 13 footmen at 6d. the piece." There appeared this year a curious question in reference to the financial relations of these countries. The scale of payment to the Ward, as we see, had been reduced, and at each half-year they claimed an allowance in addition to what is set down as their nominal pay. The reduction arose from an arrangement by Lord Deputy Essex, "who abolished Irish money and reduced all payments to English," and so the 8d. became 6d. Now, by what would appear an unlucky mistake, "this 6d. being mentioned in the establishment is reckoned as being equivalent to 4½d." The Ward of Castle Magne, however, would not sit down tamely under so glaring a wrong. They held their places under Letters Patent with the Great Seal, and they contended that they must be paid according to the terms of their commission; they were allowed 6d.

In a reckoning of His Majesty's charges for 1610 I find the entry: "Sir Thomas Roper, Knight, Constable of Castlemaine, 4 horsemen and 12 footmen." Again in 1611 a similar entry. In 1617 the following interesting notice is given:

> "November 2. Warrant to prepare a fiant containing a license for the retailing wines, and making or selling aqua vita or usquebagh by Thomas and Jane Pepys, in Dingle, Tralee, and Castlemaine, County Kerry—Desmond."

In 1620 word came to the Lords of the Privy Council, presumably in Dublin, reminding them that "though the Ward in Castlemaine is reduced to a few men, yet

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the buildings need repair."

April 1st, 1623. Sir Thomas Roper is still mentioned as Constable of Castle Magne. Roper soon after this was made Privy Councillor, and created Earl of Baltinglass and Baron of Bantry. He was clearly a man of enterprise; in 1627 we find him farming all the ale-houses in Ireland for £2,000—not a huge sum; off which, however, he seeks an abatement. At this time also he is engaged in a legal dispute with the fishermen of Bantry in connection with some royalties to which he laid claim. He died in 1637, and most probably held the office until his death.

In 1641 Charles I. had troubles with the Parliament in England, which were soon followed by civil war. The Irish Catholics availed themselves of the occasion to secure free exercise of their religion. After some time the whole people of Ireland were divided into two hostile camps, viz—those who supported the King and those who supported the Parliament. Tralee, Ballingarry, Ballybeggan and Castle Magne were held for the Parliamentary Party. Florence McFineen McCarthy, of Castle Lough, styled by the English the "Sougan Captain," had command of the Confederate Catholics who declared for Charles. Sir Edward Denny held Castle Magne, perhaps as Deputy. Inchiquin was commander of the Parliamentary forces in Munster. Lord Kerry was appointed Governor of Kerry, and he was directed to give charge of Castle Magne to Captain Thomas Spring, second son of the first Patent Constable of the name. It was attacked by Daniel McCarthy, of Carrigapreghane, elder brother of the Sougan Captain, and was taken after a few days' siege, together with some stores, and two old cannon, which were accounted a prize of great value. The castle remained in the hands of McCarthy through the entire war. At first success seemed to attend the Confederate cause in Kerry, but towards 1647 the Parliamentary Party were in the ascendant, and Daniel McCarthy appeared willing to come to terms with Inchiquin. Lord Kerry, finding

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himself unequal to the task imposed on him, fled to Dublin, and Captain David Crosbie, defender of Ballingarry, was made Governor of the county. He was ordered by Inchiquin to cut off supplies from Castle Magne, and to punish any one found giving assistance to the Ward.

> "1. To proceed against all relievers, abettors, and mayntayners of the Ward of Castle Magne within and without the castle. . . to punish them in body and goods as he thinks fitt. 2. Power to protect Daniel McCarthy's accomplices as give good security for future good behaviour."

The Constable offered to surrender the place, and Inchiquin authorized David Crosbie to make any terms he thinks proper with him, provided he gives up the castle "with speed and without further delay." The Confederate Catholics appeal to him to hold the fortress, and promise him speedy assistance, or if he be unwilling to retain it they request him to give it over to a Constable whom they shall appoint. Inchiquin meanwhile ordered David Crosbie to come to terms with McCarthy at once.

> "I desire you to use all diligence and expedition to consummate this business. You are to plant Captain Greene in the castle, with a party of mene, until I determine how to dispose of it. . . .
>
> Your affecti. friend.
>
> Blarney, 16th July, 1648. Inchiquin."

McCarthy very probably temporized as long as he saw any hopes of success for the Confederate party, for in the October following the place was still in his hands. In that month Lady Kerry wrote to David Crosbie:

> "I wonder beggarly Castle Main should hold out that hath not roome to keepe provisions to feede 100 men for a month."

In 1649, however, the place must have been surrendered to Inchiquin, who had it well supplied with stores for the use of the soldiers of the Parliament. The Constable was not to be independent, as heretofore, but should be

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subject to the authority of the Governor of Kerry. Accordingly, Inchiquin, on 1st June, wrote "To the officer commanding chief of Castlemayne," requiring him and his men to be obedient to the commands of David Crosbie, and directing him to give him ammunition from said castle. "Hereof you may not fail at your peril."

But the old fortress, that had stood the shock of war during so many eventful years, and experienced such varying fortunes, was now coming to its end. It must have been demolished soon after 1649. "It is said to have been dismantled by the castle-destroying Cromwellians," says the author of "Old Kerry Records."

The castle had been destroyed, but the question of the Constableship still remained, and there appeared no reason why 2s. 3d. a day should not be enjoyed by some loyal subject of His Majesty the King. So at least thought Sir Richard Cox, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. And who better fitted for the post than the good man himself? We find him accordingly getting himself appointed during three successive reigns, with a Patent issued on the accession of each sovereign: "Richard Cox, junr., Gent., Patent 30th October, 3rd of William (1691). Richard Cox, Esq., Patent 12th September, 1st Ann. (1702). Sir Richard Cox, Knight, Patent 29th January, 1st George I. (1704)." Cox died in 1733, and no appointment was made to the office for nearly thirty years. Whether it was that the public service was found to be unworkable without a Constable we know not, but a new appointment was made, as we find by the following:

> "Charles Bodens, Patent 'to hold as Cox held,' dated 6th April, 2nd of George III (1762). Thomas Helcott, vice Bodens, deceased. Patent dated 26th January, 17——."

"The next Constable," says the "Kerry Magazine, "was in all probability Major William Botet, who held the office until 1810." This Constable would appear to

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have been son of a clerk of that name who lived in Callinafercy. Botet was succeeded in the office by Colonel James Cuffe, of an illegitimate branch of the house of Tyrawley, who, besides holding this onerous post, also represented Tralee in Parliament, although he probably never met his constituents, and never crossed the Maine. The imposture of receiving pay for the charge of Castle Magne was becoming every day more glaring, and so the once important and responsible office lapsed for ever with the death of Cuffe.

Such is the story of Castle Magne,—a story as full of startling incidents as any to be found in fiction; a story bound up with events among the most important in our history; one that conducts us into the very struggle for existence during the terrible epoch of Elizabeth's reign, and gives us a glimpse into the domestic and social life in Kerry at that time,—the partition of territory, the change of occupancy, the new conditions of land tenure which have subsisted even to our day, and are but now disappearing. What stirring events has not that old bridge witnessed!—a memorial emblematic of our chequered history—defended and lost, surprised and surrendered, captured and betrayed, retaken and lost. The old bridge still spans the Maine, though no longer crowned with its fortalice: the ivied buttress holds its place, the Mang runs on to the sea. But the bridge must yield to time, the massive buttress crumbled; the river alone can know no change. It flowed before Norman Baron trod the land, and shall flow when generations of men have come and gone. *Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.* (5).

(5) It flows and shall flow on for endless ages.



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Kerry Royal Descents.

SEVERAL members of the Kerry Archæological Association having asked that the descents of the various county families of Kerry from the Plantagenets should be given in our Magazine, some of them are shown here, more clearly, perhaps, than they have been set forth before. It would be quite impossible to give them all at once, but a few of the more direct ones from Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I., are given, and others, it is hoped, will follow, either in alphabetical order, or more probably as they can be accurately traced. It is, perhaps, needless to add that the various descents and marriages can all be fully proved by State Papers, Wills and Deeds in the Public Record Office, and other documents. Several Kerry families, especially of the later settlers, can also claim descent from Edward III.; but those have received more attention elsewhere, notably in the writings of Miss M. A. Hickson. It is noticeable that in Kerry, as well as in most parts of Europe, from Sicily to Russia, the ruling families have almost invariably been of the Norman or Norse race; moreover, at the time of the Norman invasion of Ireland—sometimes erroneously called an "English invasion," though the invaders had probably not even learnt to speak English—that race was very pure and unmixed, and to those who believe strongly in heredity it is a significant fact that from this Norman-Irish race of the South of Ireland have sprung most of the great soldiers of the Empire.—Ed.

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The Legend of Sybil Head.

By CAPTAIN CRANE, D.S.O.

LEGENDARY lore may possibly find a place in a journal of a Society of Antiquaries, but it is doubtful if romantic stories connected with knights and fair ladies can quite come within the scope of serious antiquarian research. Such stories, however, sometimes "shorten the road" for a traveller, and may invest a locality with a certain charm, so perhaps no further apology need be made for offering this story of Sybil Head to the readers of the Kerry Archæological Magazine.

For those who know the district to the West of Dingle it is unnecessary to describe the wild grandeur of the scene which meets the view along the road round Slea Head. Over the narrow "sound" lie the Blasket Islands, grim sentinels pushed out into the sea as it were, Innishtroska and the Tearagh being prominent to the North and North-West. As the traveller turns east of Clogher Head he sees in front the bold outline of Mount Brandon, and on his left a frowning cliff—the end of the line which extends from the "Three Sisters" on the West of Smerwick Harbour. This cliff is "Sybil Point," and beyond it and nearer to the "Three Sisters"

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is "Sybil Head," a bold headland of silurian rising 600 feet above the waves which break in white foam beneath. Hard by Sybil Point is a little creek or inlet of the rocky coastline, which goes by the name of Ferriter's Cove, and near the cove is a battered outline of what had once been a "castle"—"Castle Sybil" it was, and is called to this day.

The Ferriters, or Le Ferriters, it is said, settled in this wild region shortly after the Norman invasion, and the head of the family was a chieftain under the great Earl of Desmond in later years, and paid his tribute to his overlord in Irish hawks. It may be mentioned in passing that the peregrine falcons still nest in numbers along the bold line of cliffs which extends from Sybil Head to Smerwick Harbour. But it was for a long time a puzzle to me how the name "Sybil" came to be perpetuated in the cliffs and castle in this locality, till one day I came upon the following legend in an old book.

Ages ago—the time was not even approximately given—there lived in Galway a very fair lady called Sybil or Isabel Lynch. She was a daughter of one of the chiefs whose name still sounds through the ages, and whose castle is still a prominent feature in the "City of the Tribes." The fame of the beautiful daughter of the Chief of the Lynches spread far and wide, and many a knight and gallant gentleman sought her hand. But in vain; she would marry none of the suitors who came to Galway. Her father then determined on holding a tournament on a grand scale, and vowed a vow that he would give his daughter Sybil to the knight who succeeded in vanquishing the greatest number of competitors.

It happened that at this time there was a young Pierce Ferriter living at the castle by the Cove away in West Kerry. He was handsome, and as brave as his countrymen usually are, and, moreover, he was longing for adventure. It was dull living in the lonely wilderness beyond Mount Brandon, and time hung heavy on his

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hands when he was not training hawks for the Earl of Desmond or hunting. Now and then we can imagine his hearing a little about the big world beyond the mountains through some strolling minstrel or wandering beggar. Possibly, too, he heard in some mysterious way about the beauty of the Galway chieftain's daughter, and of the ill success of those who went to woo, and he may have just had a small bit of curiosity to see her. Then came the news of the coming tournament, and the opportunity was not to be lost by a dashing, brave, young knight eager to win glory and a fair lady at the same time. So, gathering as many of his clan as possible, he set forth for Galway, and arrived just as the tournament was at its height.

This young Ferriter must have been a notable knight and a graceful personality, for it is said that when he rode into the lists the beautiful Sybil forgot all others, and fell in love with this stranger from Kerry at first sight. But the course of true love then, as now, never did run smooth. An Ulster chieftain, of enormous stature and a notable horseman, carried all before him. To him fell the honours of the day, and the greatest prize of all—the Galway chieftain's daughter. In vain she protested that she cared not for the Ulster chief, that her heart belonged to the young knight who had ridden in from Kerry. It was all in vain. Her father would not break his word, and he had sworn to give her in marriage to the winning warrior.

We can imagine the impetuous young Ferriter, rather angry, and very determined, probably humming to himself the equivalent of the song:

"O, who will o'er the down so free,
O, who will with me ride;
O, who will up and follow me,
To win my bonny bride?
Her father he has locked the door,
Her mother keeps the key;
But neither bolts nor bars shall hide
My own true love from me."

Anyhow, the upshot of it all was that despite her father's vow, despite the threats of the Ulster chief, and

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despite all promptings of prudence, the gallant knight rode off with the beautiful lady to Kerry, and married her at the castle, beneath the shadow of the cliff which to this day bears her name.

There was mounting in hot haste in Galway town, and the Prince of Ulster assembled his followers to go in pursuit of the runaway lovers. The chieftain Lynch, the lady's father, also rode with the host, who followed as fast as the bog and the mountain would permit. One can imagine the hurry and scurry of the chase over the wild uplands of Clare, across the flats of Limerick, and thence over the low boundary hills of Kerry. Brandon, lying there on the horizon, was the objective, and beyond Brandon was the castle where the chief of the Ferriter Clan lived. On they pushed with horse and foot to wreak vengeance on the gallant knight who had carried off the prize in face of all the strength of Ulster.

As the pursuers neared their goal we can imagine the preparations made at the castle of the cove. The long flats by the shores of Smerwick and on to Brandon would show the oncoming host afar off, and it would be clear that there was war in the air. Probably as the Ulster chief neared the castle he sent a herald to demand the lady. But Ferriter seems to have been as bold as he was gallant, and had no intention of giving up his prize. An underground passage led from the castle to a cave in the face of the steep cliff, and thither he took the fair Sybil to await, as he thought, in perfect safety, the result of the impending battle.

Then he returned to his command, and bid defiance to the hosts of the Ulster chief. The siege of the castle was undertaken with vigour, and as vigorous and successful was the defence. At last the besieged were able to beat back the besiegers from the gates. Then it was that the father of the bride relented, revoked his vow, and sent back the Ulster chief to his

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northern home. He also sent his forgiveness to the runaway bride.

When peace was established, and the reconciliation complete, the father and the husband set out to bring the fair lady from her hidden place of safety. But, alas! they found her not! Whilst the siege was going on, the tide had risen, and a great wave breaking into the cave, had swept all before it, and Sybil was never seen again.

What happened after this to the disconsolate husband history tells not and even legend is silent about it. For the brave young Ferriter one feels great sympathy, but for the Galway chief who brought the whole matter about by his own folly one has no further interest.

Such is the story of "Sybil Head" and "Sybil Point" and "Castle Sybil," a story of a very fair lady who met with very bad treatment at the hands of Fate.



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The Castles & Abbeys of the Co. Kerry.

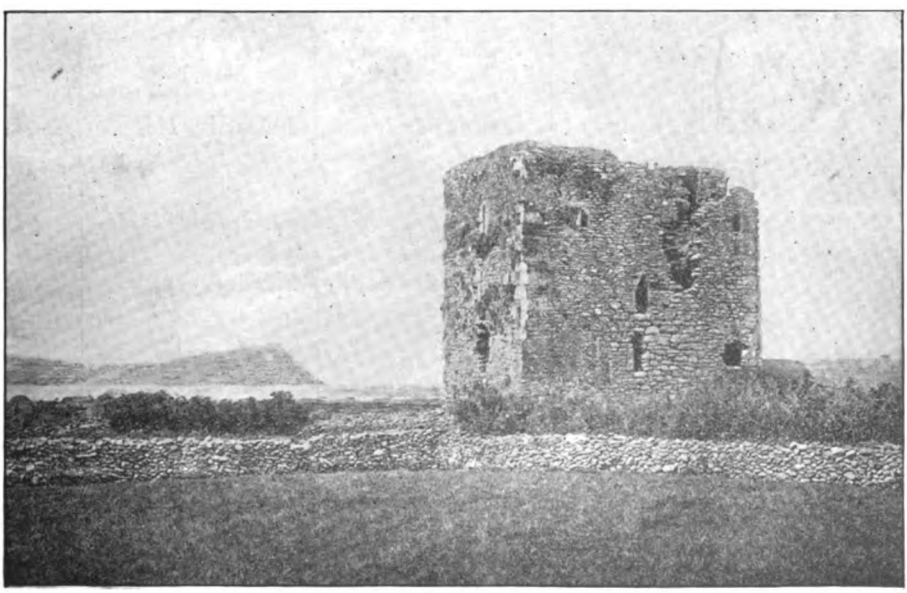
By JAMES COLEMAN, M.R.S.A.I.

THE present skeleton list of the Castles and Abbeys in the County of Kerry was drawn up chiefly at the suggestion of Dr. Robert Cochrane, F.S.A., President of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland. It includes, as far as possible, those structures of which nothing now remains, but yet whose history, whether recorded or still to be obtained, cannot fail to throw light on our country's past; whilst by focussing attention in this way on those that are left, it may help to prevent any further destruction of these ancient and historic landmarks, whose demolition is such a national disgrace. That there is a risk of further vandalism of this sort occurring is unfortunately the case; but if the origin and history of these ancient buildings were made fully known to those in whose hands they are now mostly placed, they too would in time cherish and preserve and feel proud of possessing on their lands these venerable and sacred monuments of the memorable days of their forefathers.

Of these County Kerry Castles and Abbeys no detailed history, it might be said, has yet appeared, except in the case of Ross Castle, and Aghadoe, Ardfert and Muckross Abbeys. In Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, published in 1837, it is stated that

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only thirty of the old Castles of Kerry were then left, and out of the eighteen religious houses formerly in it, the remains still existed of about a dozen: so that it does not form a very laborious task thus to name all the buildings of this class in Kerry. What is of the greatest importance, however, is to have photographs taken of all that still remain, where such views are not otherwise obtainable, either in the shape of illustrated postcards or photographs by Lawrence of Dublin or by local photographers. Each Irish county should possess in some central place photos, prints, etc., of all its ancient monuments, such as has been attempted for the whole of Ireland by the Royal Society of Antiquaries, whose collection, however, through lack of suitable premises in Dublin, is not at present as accessible as it will, no doubt, ultimately be. It is hoped that local people will supplement the present list, and correct any errors found in it, as Miss Hussey has kindly done in several instances. It would be better still if they follow Father Carmody's example in writing for this Magazine papers on the castles and abbeys in their respective neighbourhoods.



GALLERUS CASTLE.

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Name.	Locality.	By whom built.	When built.
Aghadoe ...	Near Killarney ...	—	12th Century
Arabella ...	Ballymacelligott ...	The McElligotts ...	—
Arda or Ardfert...	Ardfert ...	O'Connors Kerry...	—
Ardea ...	Parish of Tuosist 7 from Kenmare ...	O'Sullivans ..	—
Ardnagragh ...	Near Castleisland	Geraldines ..	—
Ballinskelligs ...	Near Waterville ...	—	—
Ballinruddery ...	Part of Fenagh, near Listowel	—	—
Beale ...	In mouth of the Shannon	O'Connors Kerry..	—
Ballingarry ...	2 miles N. of Ballyheigue	Col. David Crosbie	1641
Ballybeggan .	Near Tralee ..	Husseys ..	—
Ballymalis ..	Near Killorglin ...	O'Ferrises ..	—
Ballymullen ...	Near Tralee, Parish of Ratass	Desmonds ...	—
Ballybunion ..	Near mouth of the Shannon	—	—
Ballykealy ...	9 miles from Tralee, 2 from Ardfert	Fitz Maurices ..	—
Ballycarbery .	Near Caherciveen	McCarthy Mor ..	—
Ballycarthy ...	4 miles East of Tralee	—	—
Ballycarnihan ..	1½ miles to East Darrynane	—	—
Ballymacadam ...	Parish of Ballincushlane	FitzGeralds ...	—
Bernagrillagh or Ballingrilough	Ballymacelligott, 5 miles from Tralee	—	—
Brown's Castle ...	Near Ballyheigue	—	—
Bernaneev or Castlecove	Close to Kenmare River	—	—

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By whom described or named.	Present condition.	Observations.
Windele ...	Very delapidated	Was a round building; is called "the Bishop's Chair or Pulpit."
Windele ..	—	Destroyed at close of 18th century.
—	—	Demolished in the 17th century, nothing left of it.
Smith, Windele	Shattered ...	—
Cusack's Kerry p. 198.	—	—
Smith, Lewis	Little remaining	Built on an isthmus to defend the harbour from pirates.
Smith, Lewis	—	—
Smith, Lewis	—	—
Cusack and Lewis	—	Demolished in 1600.
Smith, p. 164 Cusack, p 392	Part of keep remains	Destroyed 1641.
Smith	—	Being pulled down by neighbouring farmers.
Lewis	—	—
—	—	East wall remains.
Lewis	—	—
Cusack, p 389	—	—
Lewis	—	—
Cusack, p 389	Much mutilated	—
Lewis	—	—
Cusack, p 380 and Lewis	—	Upper floor, whole in 1871, lower used for cow house.
Lewis	—	—
Cusack, 388	An Unfinished Tower	—

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Name.	Locality.	By whom built.	When built.
Ballingolin ...	Parish of Dingle ..	Rices ...	—
Barrow ...	Mouth of Fenit ...	—	—
Camp ...	To left of road from Tralee to Dingle	Portion built by FitzGeralds rival branches	—
Camp ...	Another to right of road	—	—
Cahir ..	Kenmare	—	—
Cappanacrushy ...	Between Kenmare and the Blackwater	O'Sullivans ...	—
Carrigafoyle ...	Near mouth of the Shannon	O'Connors Kerry...	—
Carrignafeela ..	Ballymacelligott	The McElligotts ...	—
Castledrum ..	3 miles west of Castlemaine	Moriartys .	—
Castlegregory ..	In Corkaguinny	Husseys ...	15th century
Castlecor ...	Near Churchtown, Parish of Knockane	McGillycuddys ...	—
Castleisland ...	—	Geoffrey de Marisco	226
Castleconway ...	—	—	—
Castlelough ..	Between Ross Castle & Muckross	McCarthy Mor ...	—
Castlemaine ..	—	—	—
Clounmellane ...	Parish of Molahiffe	McCarthys ...	—
Cloughane ...	Near Dingle ..	—	—
De Cantillon ...	Near Ballyheigue	—	—
Derryquin ...	Near Sneem ...	—	—

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By whom described or named.	Present condition	Observations.
Smith, p 179	Now Burham House	--
—	Part of tower remaining	—
Cusack, p 401 and Lewis	Little remaining of either	—
—	—	See Kenmare below.
—	—	—
Smith, Windele, Cusack	—	—
Smith, Cusack, p 399	Some fragments remain	—
Cusack's Kerry	—	Destroyed about the middle of the 19th century.
Smith and Lewis	—	Demolished in the wars of 1641.
Smith and Cusack, p 200	Few stones only remain	—
Lewis	One wall remaining	—
Smith, Cusack p 401	Some shattered bits remain	Apparently was a very large castle.
Lewis	—	See Killorglin.
Smith and Windele	Fragment remaining near Lake Hotel	Destroyed by Ludlow, 1652
—	—	Now being described in this Magazine by Rev. J. Carmody, P.P.
Cusack's Kerry, p 419	—	—
Lewis	"On the seashore are some remains of an ancient castle of which no account is known.'	—
Lewis	—	—
Windele	—	—

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Name	Locality	By whom built	When built.
Dingle ...	—	One built by Husseys	—
Dromore ...	S. W. of Kenmare	—	—
Doon ..	Near Ballybunion	—	—
Dunkerron ...	1 mile west of Kenmare	O'Sullivan Mor ...	—
Dunloe ...	West of Lower Lake, Killarney	Maurice, son of Thomas FitzGerald	1213
Fenit ..	West of Tralee ..	MacMorris ...	—
Fermoyle ...	Opposite Fermoyle House	—	—
Ferritter's ...	Parish of Dunurlin, N.W. of Dingle	Ferriters ...	—
Firies ...	Parish of Molahiffe	O'Connors ..	—
Gallerus ...	Parish of Kilmalchedar	Knight of Kerry ...	Before 1600
Glandeline ..	Near Camp ..	—	—
Kenmare ...	At Cahir, Kenmare	—	—
Kilcushnan ...	Parish of Ballincushlane	FitzGeralds ..	—
Killaha ...	Near Glenflesk, 7 miles from Killarney	O'Donoghues ...	Late part of 15th century.

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By whom described or named.	Present condition.	Observations.
Smith, Cusack p 400 & Lewis	—	Had 3 castles, sites only known.
Cusack and Lewis	—	—
Smith, Lewis	Fragment only left	-
Windele and Cusack	Greater part of keep remains	See Photograph
Smith and Windele	Keep remains, a slender square tower	The Annals of Innisfallen state that it was built by a "Carew" or Geraldine.
Cusack's Kerry, p. 179	—	—
Cusack, p 405	No trace left	—
Smith, Cusack	..	—
Cusack, p 419	—	—
Smith and Lewis	—	See Photograph.
Lewis	—	Possibly one of the 2 FitzGerald castles at Camp above mentioned.
—	—	Was formerly a castle.
Lewis	—	—
Windele	Square tower remains	Demolished in Cromwell's time.

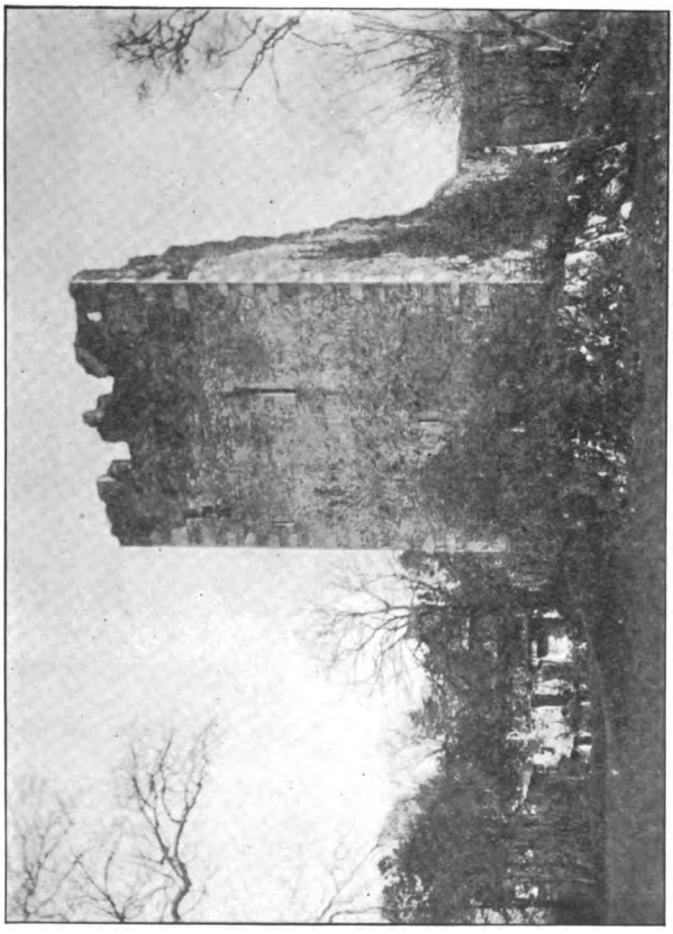
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Name	Locality.	By whom built.	When built.
Killah ...	—	—	—
Killorglin ...	At mouth of Laune	Carew or Moriartys	About 1300
Kilmurry ...	Parish of Ballincushlane	FitzGeralds ...	—
Lickdevine or Lack	Parish of Kilconly, Barony of Irraghticonnor	FitzGeralds ...	—
Liscahaune ..	Barony of Clanmaurice	—	—
Listowel ..	—	O'Tuoghils or FitzMaurices ...	—
Lixnawe ...	Parish of Kilcatagh Clanmaurice Barony	McMaurice ..	—
Molahiffe ..	In Magonihy, 1 mile south of the River Maine	McCarthys ..	—
Minard ..	8 miles E of Dingle, on Dingle Bay	Knight of Kerry ...	—
Pallis or Cusleannacartha	2 miles N. W. of Loughlane, Killarney	McCarthys ...	—
Rattoo ...	7 miles W of Listowel	—	—
Rahinane or Rathtahane	Parish of Ventry, W. of Dingle	FitzGeralds ...	—
Ross .	Loughlane, Killarney	O'Donoghues (?)	14th century
Tralee ...	Where Denny St., Tralee, now stands	Geraldine ...	—

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By whom described or named.	Present condition.	Observations.
Cusack's Kerry	Demolished in Cromwell's time.	Probably identical with the last.
Lewis	Fragment remaining.	—
Smith and Lewis	—	—
Smith·Cusack Lewis	—	—
Smith, p 280, Lewis, p 208	—	—
Smith and Cusack	In good condition	—
Smith, Cusack p 222, and Lewis	Very little remains	—
Cusack's Kerry, p 418.	—	—
Smith, p 175, Lewis	—	Blown up 1641.
Windele	Little remains	Destroyed in 1837 to repair the roads
Lewis	Little left	—
Smith, Cusack p 230, Lewis	Three walls remain.	Built in a rath.
Windele and many others	In fairly good condition	—
Smith, Cusack Lewis	Absolutely demolished	Finally destroyed in 1826—Street built on site.

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DUNKERRON CASTLE.

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Kerry Abbeys, &c.

The following summary list, obviously incomplete, of the Abbeys of the County of Kerry will be sufficient for the present purpose. Those whose names are marked with an asterisk were recently described in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, viz., in the Volume for 1906:—

*Aghadoe.

*Ardfert Cathedral, Churches and Franciscan Friary.

Abbeydorney Cistercian Abbey, called "Kyrie Eleison"' (Lewis).

Carrigue, near Ballylongford (Lewis).

Cloghane, St. Brendan's Oratory (Lewis).

Darrynane Abbey (Lewis).

Innisfallen Augustinian Abbey, Oratory.

Killagh, near (Lewis).

*Kilcoleman (described by the Rev J. Carmody, P.P.)

Killorglin Knights Templars (Lewis).

Lislaghtin Franciscan Abbey, founded 1478 (Smith p. 227, and Lewis).

*Muckross or Irrelagh.

Prior, Augustinian Priory, near Ballinskelligs (Smith and Lewis).

Rattoo, Augustinian Abbey (Smith, p. 214, and Lewis).

Tralee Dominican Friary (Lewis and others).



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The Clann Carthaigh

By S. J. McCARTHY.

"The Chiefs of Munster, of the fortress of the Shannon,
Are of the seed of Eoghan, the son of Olioll;
Mac Carthy, the enforcer of the tributes,
Is like a storm-lifted wave lashing the shore."

—O'Heebin.

THE MacCarthys are a Milesian family, and are of the race of Heber, who was the eldest son of Milesius, and who died about 1700 years before Christ. The 47th in descent from Heber was Olioll Olum, King of Munster about the end of the second century after Christ. He was the first of his line named on the Royal Roll as King of the two Munsters.(1) Olioll had three sons, of whom the eldest was Eoghan Caomh, also called Mor, whose descendants are called Eoghanachts or Eugenians. The MacCarthys have been considered the head family of the Eugenians, and in fact the head family of the line of Heber. It is doubtful, however, whether they can rightly claim this distinction on the score of seniority of birth. From that point of view it is claimed by the O'Sullivans. For a clear understanding of the question we must come down a few centuries. Aodh

(1) i.e. Thomond or North Munster, and Desmond or South Munster both together being nearly conterminous with the present province of Munster.,

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Duff, the sixth Christian King of the two Munsters (circa 575 A.D.), the tenth in descent from Olioll Olum, had two sons, one of whom was Failbe Flann, from whom the MacCarthys descend, and the other Finghin, the ancestor of the O'Sullivans. The question is, which of the two brothers was the senior? It is certain not only that Finghin reigned before Failbe Flann, but that two other monarchs, Aodh Beannan and Cathal, reigned in the interval. (2) These facts no doubt raise a strong presumption in favour of Finghin's seniority, though, having regard to the peculiar operation of the Law of Tanistry, not a conclusive presumption. Whichever of the two clans was the senior, there can be no doubt that the MacCarthys held the leading position in Munster. O'Hart considers that they owed that position not so much to primogeniture as to the praiseworthy part which they took in the wars against the Danes, to the impartial exercise of the authority which they enjoyed, and the possession of that authority on the arrival of Henry II., by whom Dermod MacCarthy, on his submission, was acknowledged as King of Desmond.

I now propose to give a short account of the ancestors of the MacCarthys from as far back as authentic information is available, that is to say, from the second century of the Christian era. It is necessary to mention here that the first member of the sept who assumed the name "MacCarthy" was Muiredach (A.D. 1011-92), Lord of Eoghanacht Caisil, and son of Cartach, Prince of Desmond, who died in 1045, from whom the family name is taken.

Eoghan Mor, the father of Olioll Olum (and the grandfather of the Eoghan already mentioned, with whom he must not be confounded), who was forty-seventh in descent from Milesius, and was also called

(2) It appears that the O'Sullivan Mor usually presided at meetings of the Munster Chiefs, even when McCarthy Mor was present. According to Windele the ceremony of the McCarthy Mor's inauguration was presided over by the O'Sullivan Mor and O'Donoghue Mor. It took place, he states, at Lisban-na-Cahir in Kerry (This is doubtless the place called Lisbane in the parish of Killinane, about 1½ miles to the south west of Kells station, as there is no other townland of that name in Kerry.)

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Mogha Nuadhat, from Nuadhat, (3) King of Leinster, who was his foster father, came to the throne of Munster about the middle of the second century. From all accounts, Eoghan appears to have been a wise and politic prince. He was certainly a great warrior. He contended with Conn Cead Catha (i.e., Conn of the "Hundred Battles," so called from his great valor) for the Sovereignty of Ireland, and succeeded after long warfare, and after winning ten decisive battles, in forcing Conn to divide with him the Kingdom in two equal parts. The boundary between them was the long ridge of sand-hills called Esker Riada, extending between Dublin and Galway. Eoghan reserved for himself the southern part, which he called "Leath Mogha" (or Mogha's half), the northern part allotted to Conn being called "Leath Cuinn" (i.e., Conn's half). However, peace between two such warlike princes could not last long, and Eoghan afterwards met many reverses. It is certain that, at one period of his life, he was so thoroughly beaten, and his fortunes were at so low an ebb, that he had to fly to Spain, where he remained for some years until after marrying Beara, the daughter of Heber, King of Castile, he entered into a confederacy with her brother, Prince Fraoch, to make another attempt to wrest the sovereignty of Ireland from Conn Cead Catha. To this end they collected a powerful army, with which they set sail for Ireland. Landing with his army on the north side of Bantry Bay, Eoghan called the harbour Bear, after his wife, whose name is still preserved in those of the town of Berehaven and of the island and barony of Bear. After another prolonged struggle, both armies fought a desperate battle in A.D. 192, on the plains of Moylena, in which Conn was victorious, and Eoghan was slain. According to O'Flaherty, the scene of their battle was in the ancient barony of Fircall, in the King's County, where there

(3) From this King according to O'Donovan, Maynooth derives its name (Magh Nuadhat i.e. Nuadhat's Plain.)

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are still to be seen two hillocks, in one of which was buried the body of Eoghan Mor and in the other that of Fraoch, the Spanish Prince, who was also slain in that battle.

Eoghan, by the Princess Beara, had issue one son, Olioll Olum, and two daughters, Caomheall and Scotniamh. The son, Olioll Olum, who succeeded him, was the first of his line named in the Royal Roll as King of both Munsters. He was almost as renowned as his father, and is usually taken as the starting point in tracing the genealogies of the Munster families. He had married, as had been stipulated at the time of the division of Ireland between his father and Conn Cead Catha, Sabina (or Sadhbd), daughter of the latter, and who was at the time widow of Mac Niadh, chief of the Sept of Darin, descended from Ithe. By MacNiadh she had one son, named Lugaidh, commonly called Luy Maccon. In 237 Olioll Olum, seconded by the three sons of Cairbre, Monarch of Ireland, raised an army against Nemetheus, Prince of Munster, and Luy Macconn. When the latter reached man's estate he demanded from Olioll Olum, his stepfather, the fulfillment of an agreement that had been made giving him a portion of Munster. Not only did Olioll refuse this, but also banished Maccon from Ireland. Upon this the latter repaired to Scotland. After some time, having gathered an army there, he returned to Ireland, and with the help of a large number of his followers, made war upon Olioll. The latter was aided by his brother-in-law, Art-Ean-Fhear, the monarch of Ireland, and son of Conn Cead Catha. There was a battle fought at Magh Mucromha, near Athenry, where the monarch, Art, lost his life, and his army was totally defeated. The result of this victory was that Luy Mac Conn become Monarch of Ireland. Munster he left to his stepfather, Olioll. The latter, having only two sons living, named Cormac Cas and Cian, settled his Kingdom on Cormac, the elder of the two. But afterwards coming to know that Eoghan Mor, his eldest son, who had been slain at Magh

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Mucromha, had left a son, Fiacha Maolleathan, born after his father's death, Olioll ordained that Cormac Cas should reign after himself, and that on Cormac's death the Sovereignty should revert to the elder branch, in the person of Fiacha Maolleathan, and that thereafter the throne should be held alternately by Dalcassians and Eugenians. But, as we shall see later on, this arrangement was not carried into effect.

From the three sons of Olioll Olum, i.e., Eoghan Mor, Cormac Cas, and Cian, are descended the Heberian nobility and gentry of Munster, and other parts of Ireland. From Eoghan Mor descend the MacCarthys, O'Sullivans, O'Keeffes, O'Mahonys, O'Donoghues, and the rest of the ancient nobility of Desmond.

From Cormac Cas descend the group of families comprised in the name Dal Cais (anglicised "Dalcassians"), which were chiefly located in that part of Thomond which forms the present County of Clare, and which included the O'Briens, MacMahons, MacNamaras, etc.

From the third son, Cian, are descended the Clan Cian, located mostly in Ormond, or East Munster, the chief family amongst them being the O'Carrolls, Princes of Ely.

Fiacha Maolleathan, the only son of Eoghan Mor, succeeded his uncle, Cormac Cas, in the Sovereignty of the two Munsters, under the arrangement above referred to, made by Olioll Olum. He was the fifth King of "Leath Mogha." In 270 Cormac Ulfada, the Monarch of Ireland, invaded Munster in order to compel the King of that country to pay him an additional tribute. Fiacha promptly assembled all his forces, and marched against the monarch, whom he encountered at Cnoc Luinge. His presence struck such terror amongst the invading army that it turned tail and fled back into Leinster. Fiacha pursued it with such relentlessness that he forced the monarch to seek terms. The King of Munster consented, but insisted on retaining as hostages the Chief Lords of Cormac Ulfada's Court until that Monarch had

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furnished ample compensation for the damage caused to the people of Munster by his incursion. Not very long afterwards Fiacha was assassinated by a prince of his house named Conla (a descendant of Cian, third son of Olioll Olum) as he was bathing in the river Suir at a place called Ath-Uisioll. He left two sons, Olioll Flann Mor and Olioll Flann Beg.

Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas, succeeded Fiacha Maolleathan in the Sovereignty of the two Munsters and that of Leath Mogha. In 291 he joined his maternal uncle, Oisin, son of Fion Mac Cumhal, at the head of the "Fianna" (or Irish Militia) (4), who had been driven to revolt by the treatment of Ciarbre Liffeachar, Monarch of Ireland and Aodh King of Connaught. Mogh Corb and his ally entered Leinster, and engaged in a battle with the Monarch at a place called Gabhra, near the Royal Palace of Tara. Cairbre and 2,000 of his men were killed; but the greater number of the famous Irish Militia perished in the conflict. Mogh Corb was afterwards defeated and slain at the battle of Spaltrack, in Munster, fighting against Hugh, King of Connaught.

Olioll Flann Beg, son of Fiacha Maolleathan, succeeded Mogh Corb, and ruled over the two Munsters for thirty years. He had an elder brother, Olioll Flann Mor, who, having no issue, adopted his younger brother, as his heir, on condition that his (Olioll Flann Mor's) name should be entered in the family pedigree as father of Olioll Flann Beg. So it has been entered in several copies with the above reason assigned.

Corc, son of Lugaidh, the eldest son of Olioll Flann Beg, had, in his youth, to fly to Scotland to escape from the amorous attentions of his stepmother, Daela. According to another version, it would appear that in consequence of a charge made by his stepmother, he incurred his father's wrath, who obliged him to leave Ireland and betake himself to Scotland. It is even said that the father sent a secret message to Feredach Fionn,

(4) They were a body of organised professional fighting men under the leadership of Fionn Mac Cumhail.

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King of the Picts, to put him to death, without delay, on his arrival. But if this was so, the father's wishes were not destined to be fulfilled, and Corc married Feredach's daughter, Mong Fionn. After her death, he came back to Ireland, and married secondly Bebhionn, daughter of Aongus, King of Corcaluighe. His father being now dead, he laid claim to the throne of Munster. He had a rival claimant in the person of Conall Eachluath, a prince of the Dalcassian branch, whom Criomthan, Monarch of Ireland (himself a member of the Eugenian branch, being grandson of Daire Corb, Corc's uncle) desired to place on the vacant throne. But the senior race of Eoghan Mor resisted his claim. The matter being referred to the Brehons of Munster, they decided in favour of Corc, who had already displayed a high degree of wisdom and valour. It is worthy of note that Corc was the first King of Munster who made Cashel the Royal residence. Though he never became a Christian, he was one of the three princes chosen by the Parliament of Tara to examine and put in order the monuments of antiquity, genealogies and records of the Kingdom. With these were associated Saints Patrick, Benignus, and Carioch, and the Chief Brehons. Corc, by his first wife, had several sons, one of whom was Maine Leamhna; the ancestor of "Mor Mhaor Leamhna, i.e., Great Steward of Lennox, from whom are descended Scotch and English Kings of the Stuart Dynasty.

Aongus (or Aeneas), son of Nadfraoch, son of Corc, was the first Christian King of Munster. About the year 432 St. Patrick began to propagate the Christian faith in Ireland. Aongus, hearing of the Apostle's success, arranged a meeting with him at Magh Feimhin. He invited the Saint to take up his residence in the Royal Palace at Cashel. This was in A.D. 448. It was in this palace that Aongus was instructed by St. Patrick in the Christian faith, and ultimately baptised by him. This created such an impression that many of the nobility were led to embrace the faith. A curious incident is related in connection with the baptism of Aongus. In

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the course of the ceremony, the Saint, in the act of fixing the lower end of his staff or crozier, which was sharp and pointed, in the ground, accidentally pierced the foot of Aongus through, but he (Aongus) thinking this was part of the ceremony, notwithstanding the great pain which he felt, yet out of respect for the religion he was embracing patiently endured it until the ceremony was over. The King's first act after his conversion was the erection of a church at Cashel, which was consecrated by St. Patrick. In order to provide for the support of the Apostle and his clergy, he ordered that every one baptised should pay annually three pence to St. Patrick and the Church. But, soon afterwards, realising the difficulty the clergy would experience in collecting those fees, which would, moreover, interfere with the discharge of their religious duties, the King ordained that the tax should be paid into the public exchequer, and he bound himself and his successors to deliver annually to the convents and religious houses 500 cows, 500 bars of iron, 500 shirts, 500 mantles, and 500 sheep for the support and maintenance of the clergy. This tribute was regularly paid until the time of King Cormac MacCullinan. It is recorded that Aongus retained two Bishops, ten priests, and seventy-two persons of other religious Orders to attend to him in his Court, to say Mass in his Royal Chapel, and to offer up prayers for the happiness of himself and the whole Kingdom.

The religious zeal of Aongus was directed by the counsels of St. Patrick, who was his spiritual guide. He lost his life at the battle of Cillosnach or Magh Fea, near the present town of Old Leighlin. The Annals of the Four Masters give A.D. 489 as the year of his death. The Annals of Innisfallen say 492, while O'Flaherty fixes it at 490.

The reigns of the four immediate successors of Aongus may be passed over, as not presenting any features of interest. His great grandson, Aodh Duff, succeeded in 575, and after him followed a few other

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princes under the law of Tanistry. In 590 Finghin, the son of Aodh, came to the throne. In the first year of his reign, he, in company with other princes and chiefs, attended the Council of Dromkeat, which was convoked by Aodh Uariodhnach, the 143rd monarch of Ireland, and at which St. Columkille, Abbot of Iona in Scotland, was also present. Finghin died in A.D. 619 according to the Annals of Innisfallen.

After Finghin came two other princes in succession, namely Aodh-Beannan and Cathal. The latter died in 627. His successor was Failbe-Flann, the brother of Finghin, and ancestor of the MacCarthys, who died in 637 A.D.

Cuan, third cousin once removed of Failbe-Flann, succeeded him. He was called the Champion of "Leath Mogha." Keating, in his history, holds him up as a model of magnificence and liberality, and recounts that he was most charitable to the poor and indigent, liberal to men of learning, and hospitable to strangers. It is, therefore, all the more to be regretted that he lost his life in 648 at the memorable battle of Carnconnill, fighting at the head of the Eugenians, against Dermond, the son of Aodh Sleine, Monarch of Ireland.

Passing over the reigns of his seven immediate successors, we come to Cathal Gionach, who was the fourteenth Christian King of the two Munsters. He fought a bloody battle in 735 at Bealach Feile with the King of Lagenia, in which he ultimately came off victorious after very heavy slaughter on both sides. Amongst the killed was Cailleach, son of Faohair, King of Ossory. Cathal Gionach and Aodh Ollam, Monarch of Ireland in 737, at Firdaglas, in Ormond, held a conference to concert measures for increasing the Church revenues, and, to this end, made suitable arrangements. The two monarchs entered into a close alliance. In the following year, to enforce the terms of the convention, they joined forces against the Lagenians. The latter, attacked at Athocannuigh, fought with desperate valor.

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Hugh, son of Colgan, the Lagenian King, who led his father's army, perished with the flower of the nobility and a total loss of 9,000 men. Hugh Ollam was dangerously wounded, and Hugh, son of Murtagh, who shared with him the sovereignty, died of the wounds he received. Cathal survived the victory for four years, dying in 742.

Airtre, son of Cathal Gionach, succeeded Tuathal as twenty-fourth Christian King of Munster. His reign was memorable for the hostile appearance during it of the Danes in Ireland. In 815 they landed at a place called Caomh-Inis-Obhrathach, on the west coast of Munster, with sixty sail and a large army. They plundered the coast and pillaged Inis Labhraine and Dair Inis, reducing to ashes all towns and monasteries which fell in their way. Airtre, on reading of these atrocities, hastened to raise an army for the defence of the country. He gave battle to the barbarous invaders, whom he completely routed, after killing 416 of their men. The Danes took to flight, and under cover of the darkness of the night managed to escape. They then precipitately re-embarked for their own country.

Feidlim, the son of Criomthan, succeeded to the throne of the two Munsters in 807. The Danes who had fled back to their own country on their defeat by Airtre, after a time returned with another powerful fleet, which landed on the coast of Munster with a pitiless horde of barbarians, who forthwith proceeded to commit wholesale devastation. Feidlim marched against them with a large army, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat, with great loss of life, and forced the survivors to fly the country. Having thus disposed of the foreigners, Feidlim turned his attention to his Irish enemies. He waged war on Cathal, the son of Olioll, King of Hy Maine, and ultimately defeated the Connacians in 832 at the battle of Easroid. He also reduced to subjection the people of Hy Nial and Brefney, and was victorious over Nial Caille, the Monarch of Ireland. It is said that Feidlim, at the end of his life, being remorseful for the ravages committed

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by his army in his younger days, abdicated the sovereignty, took holy orders, and became Archbishop of Leath Mogha. He died in 845.

Otcobar, son of Clonfadith, and great great grandson of Aodh-Beanrian, being then Abbot of Emly, succeeded to the throne on the death of Feidlim. He was of an ambitious and warlike character. He attacked near Cashel and put to flight a large body of Danes and Norwegians under the command of the redoubtable Turgesius, after killing 500 of them. He then followed up his victory, and, in union with the King of Lagenia, in 849 attacked at Skiath ni Achtair an army of Danes led by Tomar, the hereditary prince of Denmark, and completely routed them. The Danes lost 1,200 men on the field of battle, including their leader, Prince Tomar. King Otcobar also fell, as he bravely passed from rank to rank, sustaining by his example the courage of the Eugenian troops.

Passing over the reigns of Otcobar's six immediate successors, Algenan, Maolgula, Ceanfold O'Maolgula, Donoch, Dublachtna, and Fionnguine, which are devoid of special interest, we come to that of Cormac Mac Cullinan, Archbishop of Cashel, and King of the two Munsters. Cormac, who was descended from Breasail, a younger son of Aongus, the first Christian King, was born in 837, and was educated in the Abbey of Dysart Dermod (still called Castle Dermot), in Leinster. Devoted to study from his earliest years, he acquired a profound knowledge of theology, ecclesiastical history, and human sciences. He will ever be remembered by the celebrated "Glossary" called by his name, which is the earliest attempt at a vernacular dictionary in any European language, and is a monumental store of learning. Of his other great work, the Psalter of Cashel, only a fragment now remains, though from the accounts of three great scholars of the 17th century, i.e., Keating, Colgan, and Ware, it must have been extant in their time. This work is also attributed to St. Benignus, who lived more than three centuries earlier

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than Cormac. It is possible that he began the work and that Cormac enlarged it and brought it up to date. Cormac's profound knowledge, no doubt, contributed to his elevation to the See of Cashel. He was called to the throne of Munster in 901, when he was 64 years of age, by the unanimous voice of the people. In addition to his mental qualities, he also possessed those of a wise legislator, and, when occasion required, those of a great warrior, though he was essentially a man of peace. He devoted the first five years of his reign to internal reforms and repairing the evils caused by warfare, and succeeded in establishing a wise and efficient system of administration, and a respect for law and order, which brought in its train a revival of commerce and agriculture. But this happy state of affairs was doomed to be of short duration, and Cormac, during the latter portion of his reign, was, much against his will, engaged in continual warfare. This was principally due to the strong influence of his Prime Minister, Flahertach Mac Ionmhuinen, erstwhile Abbot of Inis Catha (5) and of the blood royal, who was a very turbulent and unruly ecclesiastic. The territory of Lorcan, King of Thomond, was invaded by the King of Connacht, and Flann Siona, the Monarch of Ireland, took part in this enterprise. By the advice of Flahertach (who in this case had some justification, as the invasion was wholly unprovoked and uncalled-for), Cormac made two campaigns against the united forces, and in both was completely victorious. Having been so successful, he would now have desired to settle down at peace with his neighbours and devote his time to the welfare of his subjects. But his irrepressible Prime Minister urged him to invade Leinster and demand a tribute from its inhabitants on the plea that it formed an integral portion of Leath Mogha. This imprudent and ill-starred enterprise was by no means agreeable to the King, but he was forced into it by the pressure exerted by Flahertach, who was, moreover,

(5) Now Scattery Island on the Shannon.

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supported by the leading nobles of the State. He therefore made all necessary preparations, and raised a considerable army. Having a presentiment that he would not return alive from the expedition, he sent for Congol, his confessor, and made his peace with God. He also made his will, in which he bequeathed rich donations to the religious establishments. In the beginning of August, 908, he marched to the frontier of Leinster. Before crossing it he sent a herald to Carrol, son of Muiregan, King of the country, formulating his demands. The herald returned with ambassadors, who were commissioned by Carrol to propose a treaty and cessation of arms till it took effect. It was also proposed to send hostages, and Carrol further sought to pave the way with a large sum of money and costly presents, which were brought and laid before the King of Munster. Whether Carrol was sincere in his proposals, or treacherously wished to gain time, it is certain that the implacable Flahertach would not hear of any cessation of hostilities, and insisted on Cormac's leading on his army to the conflict. Cormac concentrated all his forces near the Bridge of Leighlin, and marched to the plains of Moy-Ailbe. Flahertach and the King of Ossory commanded the right wing, and Cormac MacMothlaigh, King of Desies, the left, whilst the King of Munster himself led the centre. The Lagenian army being five times as large as that of Munster, and therefore confident of success, fell on the Momonians with such irresistible fury that they caused a general rout of the latter. This was partly due to the treacherous conduct of Ceilliochair, the brother of Cingegan (Cormac's immediate predecessor on the throne of Munster), who rode through the ranks and urged the Momonians to seek safety in flight, and also to the cowardice of Ceallach Mac Carrol, one of the principal commanders of the Munster army, who rode out of the field at full speed, telling his men to look out for themselves. It was in vain that Cormac tried to rally his forces. He was thrown from his horse into a ravine, from which being extricated, and provided with

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a fresh horse, he rode to the summit of a hill to reconnoitre his forces. His horse, making a false step, rolled with its rider to the foot of the hill, Cormac's back and neck being thereby broken. Some soldiers of the enemy inhumanly mangled his body, and, cutting off his head, bore it to Flann Siona, the Monarch of Ireland (who was assisting the forces of Leinster, and really enabled them to gain the victory). Flann, however, far from applauding his soldiers for what they had done, took in his hands and kissed the head of the old King, showing thereby that his feelings of pleasure were, for the moment, eclipsed by the impression made on him by this terrible wind-up of his venerable adversary's career.

Cormac Mac Cullinan was succeeded by Lorcan, the son of Conlegan. Some say that he was a Dalcassian Prince and the son of Lachtna, King of Thomond, and that Cormac, just before the battle which proved fatal to him, sent for this Prince, whom he then selected as his successor. As it is clear from the authentic annals of Ireland that Olioll Flann Mor and the forty-four sovereigns who succeeded him (ending with Feargradh, who was killed in 960), were all of the Eugenian stock, the first Dalcassian who interrupted this long succession of Eugenians being Mahon, son of Kennedy, who succeeded Feargradh; it is fair to conclude that Lorcan, too, belonged to the Eugenian stock.

Lorcan was succeeded by the once turbulent Bishop Flahertach, who after spending some time in captivity, subsequent to the death of Cormac Mac Cullinan, had, on being restored to liberty, retired to his former Abbey of Inis Catha. From this retreat he was called to the throne, in succession to Lorcan. He governed the country for many years with great success, for he proved a sober and discreet ruler, and won the affection of the people.

Ceallachan, son of Buodachan (commonly known as "Callaghan Cashel"), succeeded in 944 on the death of Flahertach. The latter had some years before declared

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him his "tanist," and had given him the command of the provincial troops. In this capacity Ceallachan rendered important services. In 936 he took possession of Clon-Mac-Nois, in Meath, and in 939 of Cluain-Irard, Cluain Aineach, aid Cill-aice, from which he carried off a rich spoil. In the last expedition he was aided by a body of Danes; but from 941 he turned his arms against those foreigners, who had invaded the province of Decies and Derkaferna, in Ossory. He slew some 2,000 of them. These successes were, however, followed by heavy reverses. Murtagh, son of Niall Glanduff, a former Monarch of Ireland, in order to avenge the depredations committed by Callaghan in Meath some years previously, made a sudden descent on Cashel, took Callaghan prisoner, and delivered him over to Donogh, son of Flann Siona, then Monarch of Ireland. The illustrious captive was, however, soon released.

On Callaghan's accession to the throne of Munster, and to that of "Leath Mogha," there appeared on the scene a formidable competitor, in the person of Kennedy, King of Thomond, father of the celebrated Brian Boru. Kennedy, on hearing of Flahertach's death, convoked all the States of the Kingdom at Gleannamhain, and put forward his claims. But the mother of Callaghan, appearing at the assembly, advocated the rights of her son so clearly and fearlessly, and at the same time so pathetically, that the Prince of Thomond was quite won over, and generously admitted the justice of her arguments. According to some annalists, it would appear that the contest between the rival claimants was not decided on bloodlessly, and that it was only after a hard-fought battle and victory at Magh Duine that Callaghan secured his seat on the throne. But whether this was so or not, it is certain that he and Kennedy were ever after steadfast friends and allies.

Even after his accession to the throne, Callaghan's reign was disturbed by frequent incursions of the Danes. When they found they could not succeed by force, they had recourse to treachery. The Danes were then under

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the command of Sitric, the son of Turgesius. This General, by advice of his Council, sent a messenger to Callaghan to notify his strong desire for peace and a good understanding between their respective nationalities. He offered to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with Callaghan; and, as an earnest of his good intentions, undertook to send suitable hostages. He also offered to let Callaghan have his sister Bevionn in marriage. But his real intention was, by treachery, to get Callaghan into his hands, and murder him and his retinue. Sitric communicated this plot to Donogh, son of Flann Siona, who commanded, and encouraged it. Callaghan fell into the trap laid for him, all the more easily as he was transported with joy at the idea of a marriage with Bevionn, the fame of whose beauty had reached his ears. He therefore accepted Sitric's invitation, and set out for Dublin with a large retinue. But on arriving near the city he was surrounded by an armed force of Danes; and, in spite of a gallant resistance on the part of his retinue, he and Dunchaun, the son of Kennedy, who accompanied him, were seized and carried off as captives to Armagh. Kennedy, on hearing of the capture of Callaghan, and of his own son, was furious. He forthwith set to work to assemble a large force for the rescue of the captives. The command of the army was entrusted to the brave General, Donogh Mac Keeffe, Prince of Fearmuighe. (6) Murtagh, son of Glanduff, Callaghan's old adversary, sent secret intelligence to Armagh of the approach of the Momonian army. Consequently, when the latter reached Armagh they found that Callaghan and Dunchuan had been removed from the castle where they had been in confinement, and conveyed back to Sitric, who sent them on ship board. Donogh Mac Keeffe and his army marched into Dundalk, and, on reaching that place, discovered that the captives were confined on board one of the vessels of the Danish Fleet, then near Dundalk, and that

(6) The modern Fermoy in Co. Cork.

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the Danes, too, had taken to their ships. Very fortunately, at this conjuncture, the Momonians in a short time espied another fleet of ships steering in regular order towards the Danish fleet. This turned out to be the Fleet of Munster, under the command of their Admiral, Failbhe Fionn, (7) the Prince of Corcaguiny. The latter fell upon and boarded the ship where Sitric and his two brothers, Thor and Magnus, were; and, after a severe conflict, succeeded in rescuing Callaghan, whom he left in charge of the ship. In the course of the fight which followed the brave Admiral of Munster lost his life. Notwithstanding this great loss, the Munster men maintained the fight with incredible bravery, and ultimately gaining an advantage, boarded most of the Danish ships, killing and destroying all before them, until finally victory declared itself for them. During the conflict, Fiongall, a valiant Irish commander, grasping Sitric by the collar, threw himself with him in his arms into the sea, where they both perished. Sitric's brothers, Thor and Magnus, met with the same fate. After this great victory, Callaghan put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards Munster. He encountered much opposition on the way, from Murtagh Mac Flann, King of Leinster, but he gave no quarter, and at length Murtagh had to withdraw his forces. Callaghan then returned to his capital, and settled down to the government of his Kingdom. After his experience of the treachery of the Danes, he resolved to fall upon them in every part of his realm. He attacked them with fury in and about Limerick and elsewhere, and quelled them so thoroughly that they gave no more trouble during his reign.

The successors of Callaghan were Maolfogartach Dubhdavoren, son of Donally, and Feargradh, son of Algenan. The last-mentioned was slain in A.D. 960 by Maolmuadh (8), son of Brian, who thereupon claimed the vacant position and became King of Munster. This

(7) Of the family of Falvey or O'Falvey, who were the hereditary Admirals of Desmond.

(8) Sometimes written Maelmoradh. The anglicised form is "Myles."

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Maolmuadh was head of the clan called "Eoghanact Ui Eachach, who in after times assumed the name O'Mahony, and was descended from Cas, younger brother of Nadfraoch, son of Corc. Mahon, the son of Kennedy, King of Thomond, and brother of Brian Boru, was, at the time of Maolmuadh's accession, occupied in fighting the Danes. When he had succeeded in freeing his country from their thraldom, he turned his attention to the Irish tribes. He made an expedition against Maolmuadh, carried away his hostages, and ultimately, in 970, succeeded in ousting him from the sovereignty of Munster. Mahon held it for six years. At the end of that time a confederacy was formed against him by Maolmuadh, Donovan son of Cahall, and the Danish chiefs Imar of Limerick and his son Dubhgen. Mahon, being treacherously seized by Donovan in the latter's house, into which he had been inveigled, was delivered up to Maolmuadh, and by him slain. Maolmuadh now resumed the sovereignty, and held it for two years. Then came retribution and the battle of Bealach Leachta, near Macroom, where Maolmuadh fell fighting against Brian, and with him 1,200 men, composed of both "Gaels" and "Galls," whom he had enlisted on his side. With him ended the long succession of Eugenian monarchs who had exclusively occupied the throne of Munster for so many centuries.

It will be observed that the arrangement, said to have been made by Olioll Olum, whereby the sovereignty of Munster should be held alternately by the Eugenians and Dalcassians, was not carried into effect, but from the death of Mogh Corb, the son of Cormac Cas, down to the accession of Mahon, son of Kennedy, the throne was occupied exclusively by the Eugenians, the progeny of Cormac Cas during all that time trusting to the sovereignty of Thomond. Now, some doubt whether such an arrangement or will was ever made. On the whole, it is not improbable that Olioll Olum did make some such disposition, but he must have been of a sanguine temperament if he expected that it would be

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peaceably carried out for any length of time. It is also stated that Cormac Cas, on succeeding to the throne, arranged with Fiacha Maol Leathan that, instead of the whole of Munster being ruled alternately by Eugenians and Dalcassians, it should be divided into two parts, namely—Desmond, to be ruled by the Eugenians, and Thomond, by the Dalcassians.

Be that as it may, it is clear that, as has been above mentioned, during the period elapsing from the death of Mogh Corb in A.D. 291 down to the accession of Mahon about 970, the throne of Munster was occupied exclusively by the Eugenians, with their seat of government at Cashel. Their right had become prescriptive, and was, to all intents and purposes, unquestioned. During this period of seven centuries there were in all forty-five rulers. The rule of succession followed was one whereby each ruler was succeeded by some other member of the sept, not necessarily his son or even a near relative, but some one in whom were combined the necessary capacity and experience. The tanist or heir presumptive was generally chosen in the lifetime of the reigning sovereign, and was entrusted with high military or administrative functions. He was sometimes a near relative of the sovereign, sometimes a distant relative. It is noticeable that, except in the first few generations, when the clansmen were few in number, there were no instances of a son directly succeeding his father. As in the course of those seven centuries there were some twenty or more generations, naturally the sept spread out into a large number of branches, and it is interesting to note that, in practice, each ruler was almost invariably succeeded by a member of a different branch. The elections must have been, on the whole, made in a very impartial manner, and in such a way that every branch or sub-branch had a "look-in" at some time or other, subject of course to the provision that the person chosen was competent and desirable. The continuance of the same system for so many centuries, without any break, in itself points to the conclusion that it must have been eminently successful. The elections of the various rulers

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seem generally to have been peaceably accepted, and there is no record of internal troubles arising from disputed successions. It may be assumed that a country so free from such distressing influences was fairly well governed and prosperous, though during the 9th and 10th centuries the frequent raids of the Danes must have caused a good deal of disturbance.

It may be mentioned that of the forty-five Kings who ruled during those seven centuries, about thirty died in their "beds," the rest having fallen in battle or by deeds of violence. Of course this does not indicate an ideal state of things, and leaves much to be desired. But, considering that the time was warlike and turbulent, the Kingdom of the two Munsters, in those far off centuries, may in this respect well bear comparison with other countries during that period. It will be seen that the Kings reigned for an average period of 15½ years.

Only the most remarkable and distinguished of them have been noticed in the foregoing pages, and even of these all were not direct ancestors of the MacCarthys. Out of the forty-five Kings already referred to, only nine were direct ancestors of that sept, namely —(1) Olioll Flann Beg, (2) Corc, (3) Nadfraoch, (4) Aongus, (5) Feidlim I., (6) Aodh Duff, (7) Failbe Flann, (8) Colgan, and (9) Callaghan Cashel, though all the others were collaterally related. The direct ancestors of the O'Sullivans were the first six of those just mentioned, and also Finghin and Maonach. Aongus, Eochaidh, Criomthan Sreib, Cairbre Crom, Cathal, Cugan Mathair, Finguine, Cathal Gionach, Airtre, and Cingegan were ancestors of the O'Keeffes. The Mahonys had a notable ancestor in the person of Maolmuadh. Feidlim II., King of Munster about 585 A.D, is also claimed as an ancestor of theirs as being son of Tigernach. But, according to other authorities, this Feidlim was a son of Cairbre Crom, the great grandson of Aongus. Dubhdavoren, King of Munster, who died about 957 or 959, was a direct ancestor of the O'Donoghues.

(TO BE CONTINUED).

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Notes & Queries

THE TOMB OF QUEEN SCOTA.

This grave slab, which marks the spot where Queen Scota was buried, is situated in what is now known as Foley's Glen, amongst the mountains, about three miles south of Tralee. Dr. J. O'Donovan, in his Notes to "The Four Masters," refers to the valley as Gleann-Scoithin. The peasantry readily point out the tomb as that of Queen Scota, daughter of Pharaoh of Egypt, and wife of Meliseus of Spain, who landed with her sons, according to ancient tradition, somewhere near Camp, and was killed at the battle of Slieve Mis three days later. Upon the flat of the stone is an Ogam inscription, which reads "Leacht Scoihin" = "the grave-mound of Scoithin"; but Ogamist experts believe the inscription to be a modern forgery.

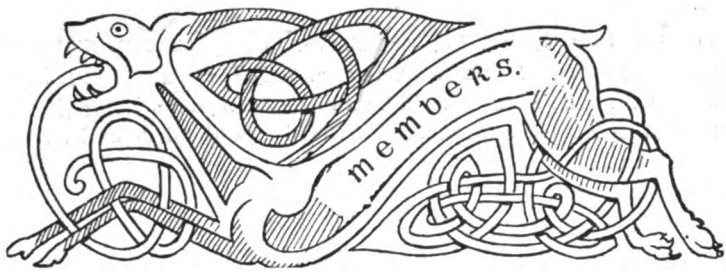
C. L. ADAMS.

More photos of Kerry Castles will appear in our next.



"SCOTA'S GRAVE." Photo by Miss Adams.

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Kerry Archæological Magazine.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Three Old Kerry Burial Grounds by M. J. and W. J. Delap	185
The Clann Carthaigh (continued) by S. J. McCarthy	193
General Vallancey's Account of Staigue Fort by J. Coleman	209
Desmond Inquisition of 1583	213
Notes and Queries	227
List of Members	229

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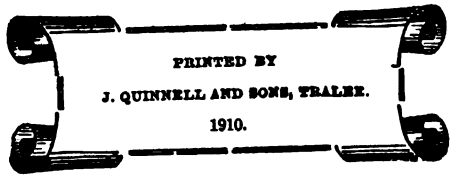




Contents

	PAGE
Three Old Kerry Burial Grounds by M J. and W. J. Delap	185
The Clann Carthaigh (continued) by S. J McCarthy	195
General Vallancey's Account of Staigue Fort by J, Coleman	209
Desmond Inquisition of 1584	213
Notes and Queries ...	227
List of Members ...	229

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Three Old Kerry Burial Grounds.

By W. J. AND M. J. DELAP.

KILLOGRONE.

KILLOGRONE graveyard, in the townland of the same name, parish of Caher, barony of Iveragh, lies on the eastern slope of the ridge which connects the mountains Bentie and Rehil, and is about two miles from the town of Cahirciveen. The name "Killogrone" means "The Church of the Cells" (King's History of Kerry, p. 27).

The building of the circular wall of the cashel and of the enclosed buildings is very rude, and composed of round boulders and slabs of slate, apparently picked off the surface of the hillside. The whole enclosure is greatly overgrown with heather and furze, which makes it very difficult to trace the various buildings.

The circular enclosure A.A.A. (Fig. 1) is about 160 feet in diameter, flattened between the circular cells D. and E. The wall of the enclosure is about two feet thick, and at a.a. five feet high.

B, an oblong building with three openings or doorways, is set into the boundary wall at the western side, and measures 42 feet long by 15 feet wide.

C is an oblong building, 45 feet by 21 feet, inside measurement, and has one opening on the north side

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and a small recess in the wall at north eastern corner.

D is a circular cell about 8 feet in diameter set into the boundary wall.

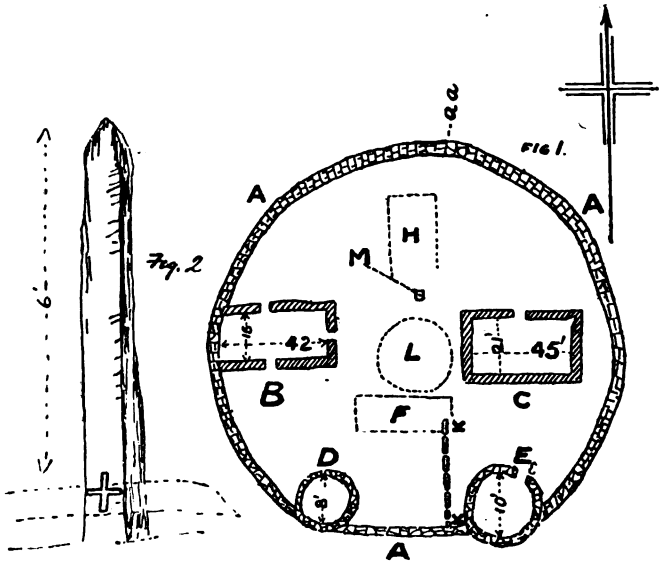
E, a circular cell protruding considerably through the boundary wall, the remains of a covered entrance at e, with covering flags still in place.

F and H are apparently oblong enclosures or remains of buildings.

K.K., a row of large flags on edge as if retaining a garden terrace or bounding a path.

L., a circle, with numerous children's graves.

M, standing stone (Fig. 2), about 6 feet high, and 8 inches by 6 inches wide, with a very well cut square cross at base, partly hidden by the setting stones, and a very much weathered ogham inscription.



About 20 feet outside the cashel E.S.E. from cell D (Fig 1) is a building the use of which it is difficult to guess (Figs. 3 and 4); tradition says it was an old mill. It seems to be much better built than any other part of the remains. The eastern wall has a considerable inclination inwards, and runs quite straight back for

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about 8 feet. The western wall also inclines inwards, and is curved, making the segment of a circle with a radius of about 6 feet.

The southern end of the building is closed by a large flag leaning against the end of the two walls.

There is also an appearance of two walls or banks, running off S.E. and S.W. from the end closed by the flag; these were possibly for the purpose of collecting water from the hillside.

Note—Since the above was written the tenant of the lands has informed me that in his predecessor's time, "over forty years ago," there were two pillar stones standing close together in the graveyards, both with Ogham inscriptions; that they were both removed and sent to Dublin by the then principal of the Christian Brothers' establishment in Cahirciveen. The day after their removal several cattle on the lands died mysteriously, and so great an outcry was raised by the neighbouring farmers, that one of the stones was brought back and restored to its original site, but upside down, which accounts for the cross being half buried in the ground. My informant could give no information about the building marked as "Old Mill" on ordnance sheet.

W. J. D.

Note by Editor—According to Brash, an Ogham inscribed stone which is now in the garden of the Christian Brothers' Monastery at Cahercivеen, came from this Killeen, and stood there as headstone to a grave.

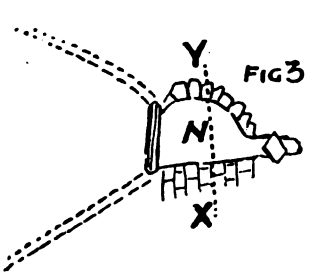


FIG 3

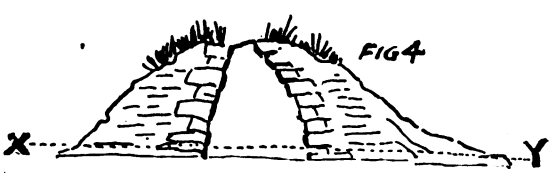


FIG 4

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KILPEACON.

ABOUT three miles from Killogrone, on the western spur of Rehill mountain, is another old burial ground, "Kilpeacon." (The word "peacon" means, I believe, the tail or spur of the mountain, or the gay part of the tail; the same word is used to describe a peacock's tail). It is situated about three-quarters of a mile south-east of Kilpeacon cross-roads, above Aghatubrid National School, and in the townland of Aghatubrid and parish of Caher.

It is a rough rectangle in shape, sloping to the south. The boundary wall has in many places been added to, and its direction apparently varied, notably at the S. W. corner. The southern side has been raised terrace fashion, and terracing can be clearly traced for a considerable distance eastwards, and to the south there were apparently several garden enclosures. A natural outcrop of rock runs from west to east across the cashel, cutting off about one-quarter of its area; there are very few graves or remains north of this outcrop. There are remains of two oblong buildings lying north and south; the smaller one has a wall at one end about 4½ feet thick; there is a sort of bastion on the eastern boundary wall, the interior of which is higher than the general level of the enclosure. There are a great number of children's graves and a considerable number of adult graves, chiefly in the upper part of the ground, and these are apparently very old. There are a number of slabs from two to four feet high, and of various widths and thicknesses, placed singly and in groups

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throughout the cashel, and many of them have a distinct notch about four inches in diameter on the upper edge.



The principal group is at H, round the stone P, which is a rough shaft of stone about 10 feet high, with a cross on the western face; the slab R, lying flat, has a hole one inch in diameter, that at RR has a hole of three inches diameter bored in it. There are other groups at C and G, and several large flags laid as if to form a pathway from what appears to be the entrance in the southern boundary wall, and outside there are several large stones, possibly the lintel and sides of entrance. At this point a farm boundary intersects the wall of the cashel, and about 80 yards along it there is a fine group of six of seven stones, D, in the form of a rectangle. About 150 yards due west of the cashel, at F, there is another group of stones, possibly a ruined cromlech.

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ROUGH PLAN OF KILPEACON.

A.A. Sites of buildings. ,

B. Bastion on east side.

C. Groups of slabs on edge.

D. Group of large slabs on edge about 80 yards due south of cashel, with farm boundary fence run through them.

E.E. Natural outcrop of rock.

F. Group of flags about 150 yards west of cashel.

G.G.G. Slabs on edge in various positions in the cashel.

H. Enclosure of slabs round standing stone.

P. Pillar stone, with rough cross on western side, about 10 feet high.

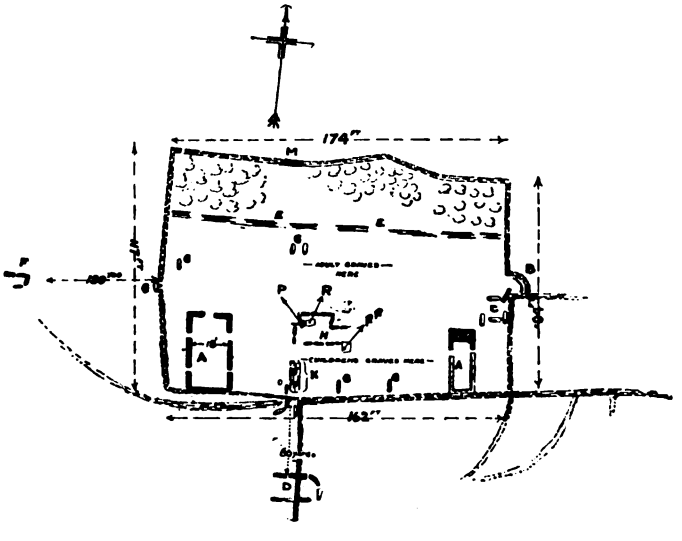
R. Flag, with hole in centre of one inch diameter.

R.R. Large flag, with hole 3 inches diameter.

K. Horizontal flags, laid as if to form pathway from entrance.

L. Supposed entrance.

M. Low opening in wall, with heavy lintel in place.



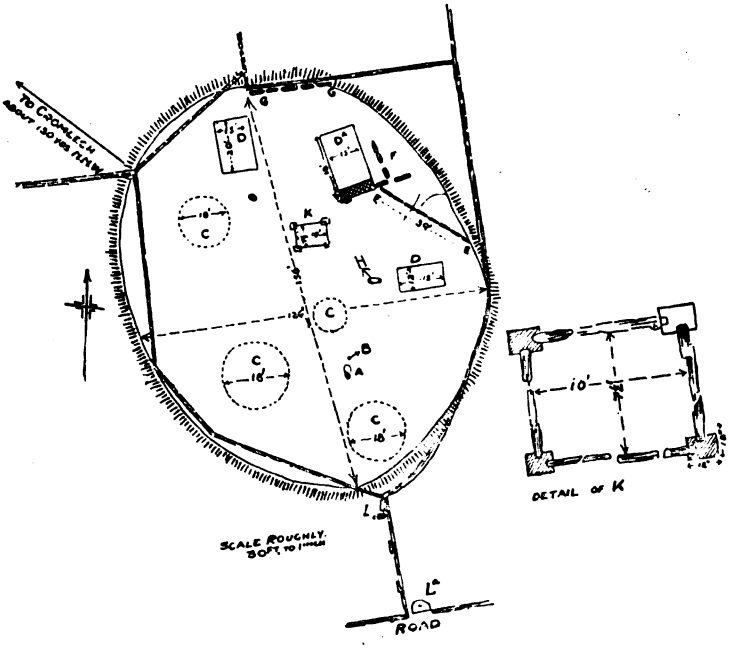
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KILDREENAGH.

THIS Killeen lies in the townland of Cools East, Valencia Island; it is roughly circular, being from north to south about 156 feet, and from east to west 124 feet in diameter. The area has been encroached upon at several points by field fences, and the outline at places is hard to trace. There is a pillar-stone in the centre of the Killeen, with an Ogham inscription, and a cross marked faintly on the western side: round this stone there are numbers of children's graves. The foundations of three circular buildings, or beehive huts, can be traced at C.C.C., and of several oblong buildings at D.D.D. A curious grave enclosure at K., with morticed stones at the corners, is something similar to that on Church Island, Valencia Harbour, described by Mr. P. J. Lynch in the Journal R.S.A.I., Part II., Vol. X, 1900, p. 155, except that this grave has the corner-stones cut with two notches in each, so as to take the side slabs. The four corner-stones are in position, though two are nearly covered with soil; the side slabs are sunk also to the level of the ground. The corner-stones are of hard, gritty stone, the sides of slate. There is an odd corner-stone lying near the pillar-stone, with a notch cut in it similar to those at K. And at H there is a flag with a round hole cut in it of one inch diameter, and in the fence near the road, a few yards outside the cashel, is a flag with a round hole of three inches diameter: this latter stone has probably been carried from its proper place to stop a gap in the fence La. This Killeen has several points in common with those of Killogrone and Kilpeacon. A pillar-stone in centre of each with rude cross inscribed, and in Killogrone and Kildreenagh an Ogham inscription; in Kilpeacon and Kildreenagh, pierced stones, one with hole of inch diameter, the other with hole of three

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inches diameter; line of flags on edge are common to all three; the oblong building Da. in Kildreenagh is like that in Kilpeacon at A., each having a sort of raised platform at one end.



The cashel stands at the western end of a long terrace running east from it for half a mile, and having gallauns and other remains scattered along it. At the east end there is another burial ground, with traces of buildings, and near this there is a huge pillar-stone lying on the ground, which has been dragged to its present site but never erected. This stone measures 14 feet in length by 5 feet in width and two feet in thickness.

About one hundred and thirty yards north-west of the cashel is a very fine cromlech, with apparently all the original stones in position. The covering stone measures 10 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 9 inches and 13 inches thick, with a considerable inclination from west to east. There are several cup-markings on its

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upper surface, and at the eastern end traces of a gutter about an inch wide.

The accompanying photographs are by Miss C. A. Phibbs, who has kindly permitted us to make use of them.

REFERENCE TO SKETCH OF KILDREENAGH.

A. Pillar-stone with Ogham inscription.

B. Small stone with mortice similar to those at K.

C.C.C. Circular buildings.

D.D. Oblong buildings; Da., oblong building with platform at S. E. end.

E. Line of slabs on edge as if marking a pathway.

F. Larger slabs on edge.

G.G. do. do.

H. Small slab with pierced hole in corner.

K. Grave enclosure measuring 10 feet by 7½ feet, corner-stones measuring 12 inches by 8 inches, with notches to receive side slabs.

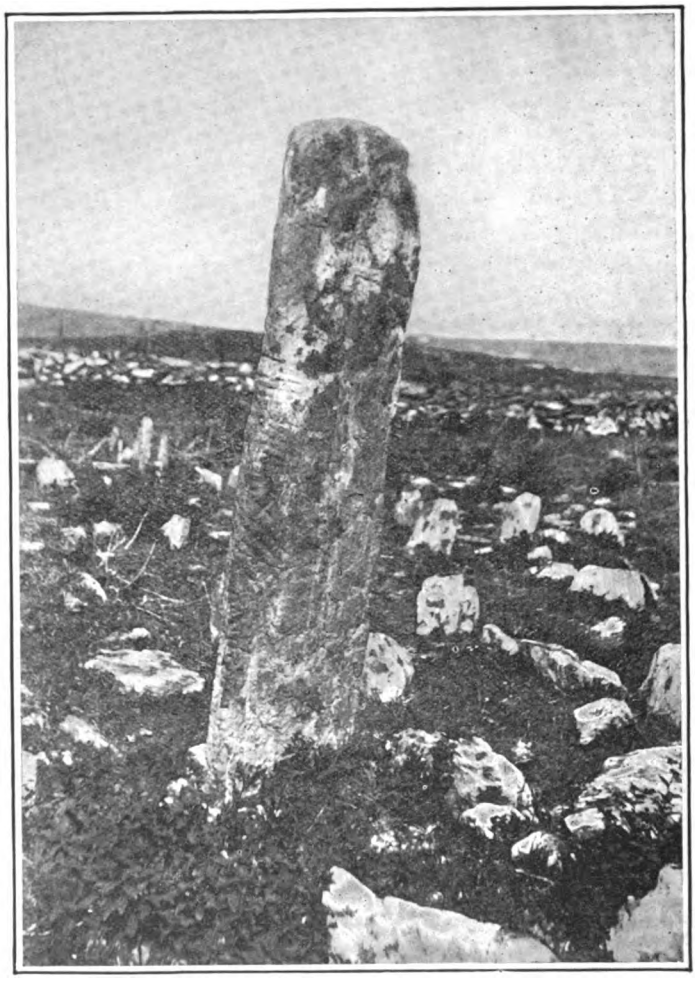
L. Line of slabs on edge along field fence leading to public road.

La. Large slab with round hole 3 inches diameter, probably taken from Killeen.



CROMLECH, COOLS EAST. (Photo taken by Miss Phibbs).

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PILLAR STONE OF KILDREENAGH.
(Photo taken by Miss Phibbs)

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The Clann Carthaigh

By S. J. McCARTHY.

(Continued from Page 179).



It has been stated that the death of Maolmuadh, at the battle of Bealach Leachta, in 978, brought to an end the long succession of Eugenian Kings of Munster, which had continued without a break for 700 years. After that battle, the Eugenians, for a time, ceased from rivalry and were glad to make peace with Brian Boru on his own terms. The power of the O'Briens, which had been growing for some generations, was at its highest. A number of able princes had sprung up amongst them, above whom of course towered the celebrated Brian, whose ambition soared far beyond the recovery of the throne of Munster. There was consequently a period of peace, which lasted until Brian's death on the field of Clontarf in 1014. Immediately after that, dissensions arose amongst the remaining leaders of his army. The Chieftains of Desmond, who had never really recognised even Brian's right to transmit the Kingdom of Leath Mogha to his posterity, put forward their claims to the Sovereignty, on the old ground of "Alternate Right." Their attempts were not successful; and, for some 130 years, the Dalcassians, though losing the Sovereignty of Ireland, which had been won by Brian Boru, retained that of

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Munster. During that period some half dozen of them occupied the throne in succession. But, in 1136, Cormac McCarthy, to whom we shall refer presently, succeeded in compelling Conor-na-Caharach O'Brien to allow him a share in the Sovereignty.

But the old era of tranquillity, which had subsisted for so many centuries (up to the time of Maolmuadh, and the dissensions which ended with the battle of Bealach Leachta), was at an end. It is not too much to say that, from the time of Brian Boru's death, until the invasion of the Normans, war and confusion raged throughout the length and breadth of Munster. There was not a year of peace between the Eugenians and Dalcassians, and the whole population were marshalled on the side of one or other of these septs.

We shall now take up the history of the MacCarthys. The last of their direct ancestors, whose career has been sketched in this little history, was Callaghan Cashel, King of Munster, who died in 954. His son was Donchadh, who was father of Saorbreathach (or Justin) and of Maolfogartach, above referred to as Callaghan's immediate successor. (1) Donchadh's eldest son, Saorbreathach, was father of Carthach, (2) who fought first against the Danes, and then turned his arms against the Dalcassian prince, Lonergan Mac Dunchuan, nephew of Brian Boru, with whom he contended for the Sovereignty of Munster. He obtained a victory over the men of Ossory and Ormond, at a place called Maeilcaennaigh, on the Suir, but ultimately Lonergan, tracing him to the house where he (Carthach) had retired, with several Momonian Chiefs, set fire to it, and all within it were burned to death. This happened in 1045. Carthach left two sons, Muireadach and Tadg (Teig). Muireadach succeeded him, and reigned until 1092. He (Muireadach) was the first of his race who assumed the name of "MacCarthaigh,"

(1) Donchadh had a third son Murcha or Muireadach who was ancestor of the O'Callaghans.

(2) From whom is derived the sept name.

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anglicised MacCarthy. (3) His long reign was a period of continuous warfare between his own sept and the O'Briens. He died in 1092, and was succeeded by his brother Tadg (or Teige), who died in 1123. It was in Teige's reign, i.e., 1121, that Cashel was handed over to the religious of Ireland. The Four Masters say:

"A meeting of Leath Mogha was held at Cashel by Muirceartach O'Brien, with Chiefs of the Laity, and O'Dunan, both Bishop and Chief Senior, with the Chiefs of the Clergy; and, on this occasion, Muirceartach O'Brien made a grant such as no King had ever made before, namely he granted Cashel of the Kings to the religious without any claim of laymen or clergymen upon it, but the religious of Ireland in general."

Teige had a daughter, Sadhbh (Saiv or Saba), who married Dermod O'Brien, head of the rival Dalcassian tribe. By this marriage the blood of the MacCarthys was transmitted, through many generations of O'Briens, O'Connors, De Gernons, and De Burghs, into the royal veins of Philippa, daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, son of Edward III.; thence, through the Mortimers, to Edward IV., and thence, say the English heralds, "to most of the sovereign houses of Europe." The Princess Saba married secondly her first cousin, Cormac, son of Muireadach, who succeeded her father (i.e., his own uncle) in 1124.

Cormac Muitheamnach (4) who was called the Bishop-King of Cashel, was considered the most religious prince of his age, and also the most valiant and generous. He erected the beautiful "Teampul Cormaic," or Cormac's Chapel, at Cashel (5), the one ancient building which we still see intact. It was

(3) It was about this time that the assumption of surnames amongst the Irish commenced. Keating states that Brian Boru initiated the practice, and decreed that a certain name should be imposed upon each tribe to denote its origin. It is probable, at all events, that surnames then became necessary, as a more ready and precise means of tribe designation than had previously existed.

(4) The meaning of this agnomen is not clear. Mons. Laine translates it "le Meridionale."

(5) Some have attributed the erection of this Chapel to Cormac MacCullinan, who was slain at Ballaghmoon in 916. But, apart from the direct evidence of its consecration in 1134 or 1135 as set forth in the various Annals, a comparison of the building with other structures bearing definite dates, leaves little doubt that Cormac's Chapel belongs to the same period, i e. soon after the transfer of Cashel to the Religious

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commenced by him, some time in or after 1127, and completed in 1134. Cormac was most munificent in his donations to that and other churches. None the less was he a stern and stubborn assertor of his rights; and most of his life was spent in sanguinary struggles to uphold them. In 1124, the year of his accession, we learn, from the Annals of Innisfallen, that a plundering army was led into Munster by Turlogh O'Connor, King of Connaught, who slew the hostages of Desmind, amongst whom was Maelseaghlin, the son of Cormac MacCarthy, King of Cashel. He defeated Cormac and burned his camp at Sliabh-Caitligh. Further, Turlogh, in conjunction with Donogh MacCarthy (Cormac's brother), dethroned the latter, so that he was obliged to go on a pilgrimage to Lismore, and take a staff there; Donogh being inaugurated as King in his place. (6) Those operations against Cormac seem to have extended from 1123 to 1127. Donogh's treasonable conduct towards his brother was generally condemned, even by the O'Briens. Their Chief, Conor O'Brien, led a force to Lismore, and bringing back the deposed prince, restored him to his throne. An account of this transaction is given by St. Bernard in his Life of St. Malachy, in the following terms:

> "Conchobarus O'Brien, videns quæ facta sunt, et hinc quidem indignans prædonum libertati et insolentiæ superborum; inde miseratus Regni desolationem et Regis dejectionem, descendit ad cellulam pauperis cui Cormachus, accedente mandato Episcopi et Malachiæ consilio vix tandem acquievit pulsis prædonibus, reducitur in sua cum exsultatione suorum Regnogue restuitur suo."

The date of Cormac's return does not appear in the Annals; but that it took place not later than 1131 is evident from the fact that, in that year, Thomond was plundered by him. Donogh, who had usurped the Kingdom, was expelled into Connacht with 2000 men.

(6) The Annals of Innisfallen, under the year 1126, state that Cormac was expelled by the "Ui Eachach." This was the tribe from which sprang the O'Mahonys and O'Donoghues. They possibly also took part in his dethronement

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The next thing we hear is that, in 1132, there was a great slaughter of the Connacht men by the men of Munster. "In 1132," writes Hardiman, in his History of Galway, "the King of Munster despatched a body of men by sea to take the Castle of Galway, which his general, Cormac MacCarthy, having effected, put the garrison to the sword, levelled and destroyed the castle and town, and soon afterwards defeated and slew Conor O'Flaherty, King of Iar Connacht."

In 1133 an army was led by Cormac McCarthy and Conor O'Brien into Connacht, and they killed Cathal, son of Cathal O'Connor, Royal heir of Connacht, and Gill-na-Naemh Ua Floin, Chief of Sil-Maelernain, and they demolished Dun Mugthorn and Dun Mor, and plundered a great part of the country. They afterwards returned without hostages.

Cormac's last predatory excursion was in 1137, when he made a raid upon Kennedy O'Brien and the Foreigners of Limerick. From the Annals of Innisfallen it appears that, in 1138, he was treacherously killed in his own house, by Dermod Sugach O'Connor Kerry, at the instigation of Turlogh O'Brien. (7) (The Four Masters say it was by "Turlogh O'Brien and the two sons of O'Connor Kerry").

Cormac was called "Easpog Righ Eireann," which has been interpreted as "Bishop of the Kings of Ireland." It has been questioned whether he really became a Bishop, or was merely honoured with the title, by reason of his piety and liberality to the Church. Dr. Petrie, in his History of the Round Towers and other Ecclesiastical Structures of Ireland, has (in connection with the Teampull Cormac and its architectural beauties, which he has minutely described) considered the subject, and has arrived at the conclusion that Cormac, during his pilgrimage to Lismore, was actually consecrated Bishop. He relates that, in a tomb venerated by tradition as that of Cormac, was found, some

(7) Who was curiously enough the son of his wife Saba by her first husband Dermod O'Brien. This was the first recorded intermarriage between the 2 septs. The result did not encourage a repetition of it on the contrary the bitter feeling between the septs was intensified.

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years ago, a beautiful crozier, which has been considered as probably the staff taken by him at Lismore. His consecration as Bishop would explain his reluctance to return to his Kingdom, which St. Bernard says he manifested.

Petrie, referring to Cormac's Chapel, says:—"The beautiful and well-known Church on the Rock of Cashel called 'Cormac's Chapel' is one of the most curious and perfect Churches in the Norman style in the British Empire." Besides this Chapel, Cormac also built two Churches at Lismore, and restored St. Finbarr's Church and Abbey in Cork.

After the death of Cormac, his brother Donogh occupied the throne for some time. After the demise of the latter (Cormac's eldest son having died without issue) his second son, Dermod, called "of Cill Baghain," succeeded without opposition. He was, however, for many years kept out of the peaceable enjoyment of the throne by the O'Briens of Thomond. The terrible strife between the two septs was now at its height, and all Munster was impoverished through their prolonged contention. In order to put an end to them, Turlogh O'Connor, King of Connacht, in 1151 led an army into Munster, which he subdued, with the exception of West Munster (6). In the following year was fought the battle of Main Mor, one of the most sanguinary recorded in the Annals, in which the Munster men were signally defeated by the Connacians. It is recorded that 7,000 Munster men were slain. In the account of this battle given by the Four Masters it is mentioned that "the Dalcais, the men of West Munster, and the Sil-Briain" had set out, under the conduct of Turlogh O'Brien, King of Munster, on a predatory excursion into Desmond; and, on their return from the South, "fell in with the Connacht men, the Leinster men, and the Meath men." It is to be inferred that the men

(6) The Four Masters say "all Ireland was a trembling bog . . . a great storm of war throughout Ireland in general, so that Ceallach, successor of Patrick was obliged to be for one month and a year absent from Ardmagha establishing peace amongst the men of Ireland."

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of Desmond did not take part in the engagement, and that the "men of Munster" referred to by the Annalists comprised, on this occasion, only those of Thomond and West Munster. The sequence of events, as set forth by the various Annalists, is not quite clear. The Annals of Innisfallen under the year 1151 state as follows:—"Diarmuid, son of Cormac MacCarthy, O'Connor, King of Connacht, and Tiagharnan O'Ruark, marched with a great army against the O'Briens. They advanced as far as Ciarraighe-Luachra, where they remained a night, and laid waste the country thereabouts. They came to an engagement at Sliabh Mis, where many people were slain, and then the Connacians returned home Dermod Sugach O'Connor brought ships on wheels from the territory of Corcaguiny to Loch Lein."

Though 1150 is mentioned as the date of those events, it is not improbable that they were subsequent to those recounted by the Four Masters under the years 1151 and 1152 hereinabove quoted. Those Annalists' account of the operations in 1151 leave West Munster still unconquered, whereas the subjugation of that territory is clearly described in the Innisfallen Annals under the previous year. It is, however, not unusual to find discrepancies of one or two years, and sometimes even more, between the dates of certain events as given by the different Annalists.

"In 1153," say the Four Masters, "an army was again led by O'Connor into Munster, and he divided Munster into two parts, between Dermod, son of Cormac, son of Muireadach, son of Carthach, and the O'Briens, namely Tadg and Turlogh." This arrangement did not prove successful. The fury of the sept conflicts was at its worst, and never could an invader have chosen his time better than did Henry II. When he landed in Ireland in 1171, Dermod MacCarthy was the first prince to submit to him, his example being followed by Donal O'Brien, King of Thomond, and others. This was mainly in obedience to the diploma said to have been

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issued by Pope Adrian IV, granting to Henry the right to occupy the country. The Irish Kings had, for centuries, been accustomed to an Ard-Righ or Chief Monarch, who had a nominal authority over the lesser potentates, but seldom interfered with them. Probably most of those who submitted to Henry looked upon him in that light. They never could have contemplated being themselves ejected from their territories, by the Norman nobles. Dermod, on his submission, was recognised as the vassal King of Desmond; but, notwithstanding this, Henry soon afterwards granted the whole of that Kingdom to Robert Fitzstephen and Miles de Cogan. In consequence of this, Dermod, who had been the first to bend, as he supposed, to Papal authority, was now the first to turn his sword against the English invader.

In the meantime, however, his attention was directed elsewhere, and to an unexpected quarter. He had now to defend himself against his eldest son, Cormac Liathanach, who had risen in rebellion against him. Dermod, by his submission to the English King, had no doubt alienated the affection of his subjects, and even of his own children. Cormac, his son, was proclaimed King of Munster, by the constitutional party of his people, and collected a large force for the expulsion of the strangers. Dermod was taken prisoner, and kept in confinement so as to prevent him from rendering assistance to the Anglo-Normans. He seems to have been liberated after a time. Sir George Carew, quoting from the Book of Howth, states that he (Dermod) sent messengers to Raymond Le Gros inviting him to come to his aid. This Raymond accordingly did; and through his assistance Dermod succeeded in recovering his Kingdom. In consideration of these services, Dermod conferred on Raymond Le Gros the country forming the present Barony of Clanmorris, in the County Kerry. Cormac Liathanach was murdered in 1177 by Conor and Cathal O'Donoghue for the killing of Maccraith O'Sullivan. The concluding years of

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Dermod's reign were occupied in disastrous conflicts with his hereditary rivals. The Annals of Innisfallen under the year 1178 set forth that:

"There was a great war between the O'Briens and the MacCarthys, so that they desolated the entire country from Limerick to Cork, and from the plain of Derrymore to Brandon Hill; and the greater part of the race of Eoghan fled to the woods of Ivahagh, south of the River Lee, and others to Kerry and Thomond. On this occasion the Hy-Conaill Gabhra and the Hy-Donovan fled southwards to the Mangerton Mountains."

This seems to have been the first considerable migration westwards of the MacCarthys, and it was probably about this time that they settled in the Lake district about Killarney, and also in the south-western portion of the County Cork.

As a set-off against those reverses, the Annals of Innisfallen record some successes of the MacCarthys in the following year (1179). They say that in that year Dermod MacCarthy and O'Donoghue (9) of Loch Lein attacked and expelled Donogh-na Himirce-Timchill O'Mahony, Chief of the Ui-Eachach. The district of East Muskerry, which had belonged to the O'Mahonys, Chiefs of Rathlean, was seized by De Cogan about 1177, but, after his death in 1182, passed into the possession of the MacCarthys, and was portion of the territory afterwards owned by the Blarney branch of that sept.

Dermod's long and troubled career came to an end in 1185, in which year he was slain, by Theobold Butler, during a conference held near Cork at a place called Cill-Baghain, or Cillbawn, from which circumstance arose his *agnomen*.

One incident in his life which is worthy of notice was his second marriage, when between 70 and 80 years, with a young Norman damsel named Petronilla de Bloet.

(9) It was under Doncadh son of Donal Chief of the Cinel Laeghere, and from whom they took their hereditary name, that the O'Donoghue Sept in the early part of the 11th century migrated to Magunihy in Kerry, where they displaced the ancient Sept of O'Carroll of the "Eoghanacht Loch Lein," and gave to that territory the name of "Eoghanacht O'Donoghue."

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This marriage is attested by a document in the archives of the Tower of London, i.e., an order from King Henry III. to the lady's brother, Thomas de Bloet, to "pay without further delay the dower promised to her on her marriage with Dermod Magarthy Rege de Corke viro suo."

Dermod was liberal towards the Church, and there is extant, in the British Museum, a copy of a Charter given by him for the rebuilding, enlargement and increased endowment of the Church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist in Cork, which had been raised by his father, Cormac. Curiously enough, this is a joint instrument of Dermod and his son Cormac, between whom such deadly strife afterwards sprang up. Moreover, in Carrigiliky, in the parish of Myross, in West Carbery, as the Monasticon Hibernicum records, are the ruins of the Abbey of Maure, founded by Dermod in 1172, and supplied by him with Cistercian monks.

It will be noticed, from instances already recorded, and some which will be given later on, that the Eugenian princes, as a body, were distinguished for their religious zeal and generosity towards the Church. And it is remarkable that many of them most conspicuous for their warlike proclivities, and who in their predatory excursions did not spare even monasteries, were themselves the founders of churches and monasteries, as if in atonement for the carnage for which they were responsible. This no doubt they deemed the most suitable form of "eiric" or compensation, if indeed such were possible, for such grievous bloodshed and misery. The following is a list of the principal Abbeys, Churches, etc., which according to the Monasticon Hibernicum, were founded and built by the MacCarthys:—The Monastery of the Canons of St. Augustine of Cork, in 1134; the Abbey of St. Maur de Fonte Vivo in Carbery, in 1172; the Convent of Franciscans in Cork, in 1214; that of the Cistercians of Tracton, in the Barony of Kinalea, in 1224; the Abbey

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of Timoleague, about 1240; the Monastery of Irrelagh or Mucross, in 1340; that of the Franciscans of Kilcrea in 1465; the Convent of Ballyvacadane, about the same time, and five other Churches at different places.

Donal Mor-na-Curra (so called *a loco occisionis*) the elder son of King Dermod, succeeded without opposition on the death of the latter in 1185. He is said to have been the first of his name who was styled "MacCarthy Mor." This title was afterwards used to distinguish the head of the main line from the MacCarthy Reagh, or Carbery branch, though the great disruption of the sept, which led to the formation of the latter branch, did not take place until after Donal Mor's death, when it was brought about by his third son, Donal Gott, as will be described later on. During Donal Mor's reign the rivalry of the princes of North and South Munster still continued, notwithstanding the many predatory excursions of the Kings of Connaught (which were aimed at its suppression, but in reality enhanced the desolation and misery already prevailing throughout the country). The first mention made of Donal exhibits him in amity with and under the protection of O'Connor, the titular sovereign of Ireland. We see that MacCarthy of Desmond was "in his house," i.e., acknowledged subjection to him,(10) and that O'Connor gave him a great stipend, namely five horses out of every cantred in Connaught. Donal had many conflicts with the English, and in these was generally victorious. We see that, in 1196, he led his forces against the English of Limerick. He defeated them in the field, and pursued his advantage till he had driven them out of Limerick. Moreover, he amply confirmed his superiority, by twice defeating, during the same year, their attempts to recover that important place. The Annals of Innisfallen record that, in 1196, Donal Mor-na-Curra destroyed the Castle of Kilfeacle.

(10) Annals of the Four Masters; age of Christ 1189.

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Many of the English were slain. Donal then, joined by Cathal Crowdearg, King of Connacht, and the O'Briens, marched at the head of the Eugenian forces, to Cork, then the only considerable post of strength remaining in the hands of the English. The allied forces would have captured and burned the city, but, at Donal's instance, were prevailed on to desist from doing so, and to raise the siege on condition that the English should evacuate it.

The Annals of Loch Ce, under the year 1202, record as follows: "A hosting by Cathal (Crowdearg) and William Burke, and by the sons of Donal O'Brien (i.e., Muirceartach and Conchubar Ruadh), and by Finghin, son of MacCarthy, into Connaught, till they reached the Monastery of Ath-da-Larag, on the Buill, where they fixed their residence, and they were three days in it, and they polluted and defiled the entire Monastery. . . . Nothing was left unbroken or unburnt except the roof."

The "Finghin MacCarthy" mentioned in the above extract was probably the brother of Donal, of whom we shall hear more anon.

Donald's last recorded exploit took place in 1203, when, as stated by the Four Masters, "a victory was gained by Donal the son of MacCarthy and the people of Desmond over the English, 160 persons or more being slain in the conflict." Monsieur Laine states that "after a glorious reign of twenty years" he died at Curra in 1205.

We may now cease to speak of the Chieftains of the MacCarthy Sept as Kings of Desmond, much less of "Leath Mogha," though the Irish Annals continue, for some generations longer, to style them Kings and Princes of Desmond. Their Kingdom had really passed away from them, and it will be preferable henceforth to designate them by their title of "MacCarthy Mor."

On Donal Mor's death in 1205, by the law of Tanistry he was succeeded by his brother Finghin (or Florence), whose succession, however, let loose the fury

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of his three nephews, the sons of Donal (11) and led to a period of bloodshed which ended, in 1208, in the murder of Finghin "by his own brethren," as stated by the Four Masters. This statement, however, is not quite correct, as it was by his *nephews* he was slain, and he had no brother living at the time. On Finghin's death the succession fell to his eldest nephew, Dermod of Dundreighnan. He was Chieftain for a couple of years, at the end of which time he was taken prisoner by the English, but afterwards set at liberty. He founded in 1214 a Monastery for Franciscans in Cork. In the meantime, on his capture by the English, his next brother, Cormac Fionn MacCarthy, succeeded in 1212, but the latter, after a time, had to defend himself from the attacks of Dermod, who on recovering his freedom renewed the struggle for the Chieftainship.

Even after his death the strife was continued by his two sons, Teige and Fineen, who assumed their father's claim to the lordship of Desmond. They both ultimately fell in battle; Teige (according to the Annals of Innisfallen) being slain in 1235 by Cormac Fioun and Donal Gott, who were his uncles, and Fineen in 1257 by Donal Gott, assisted by the De Cogans, though according to the Four Masters he (Fineen) fell in battle against the English. Cormac Fionn was also opposed in his claim by his younger brother, Donal Gott. So that he could have had but little peaceful enjoyment of his position, his whole reign being a period of almost incessant strife between himself and his kindred. These fierce struggles culminated in the disruption of the sept. Donal Gott having dethroned Muirceartach O'Mahony, Lord of Ivahagh, and taken possession of Carbery, effected his virtual independence of the senior line of Desmond. Cormac Fionn must have been living in 1243-4, as we learn, from Rymer, that Henry III. of England, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, sent letters to various Irish Chieftains, and amongst the

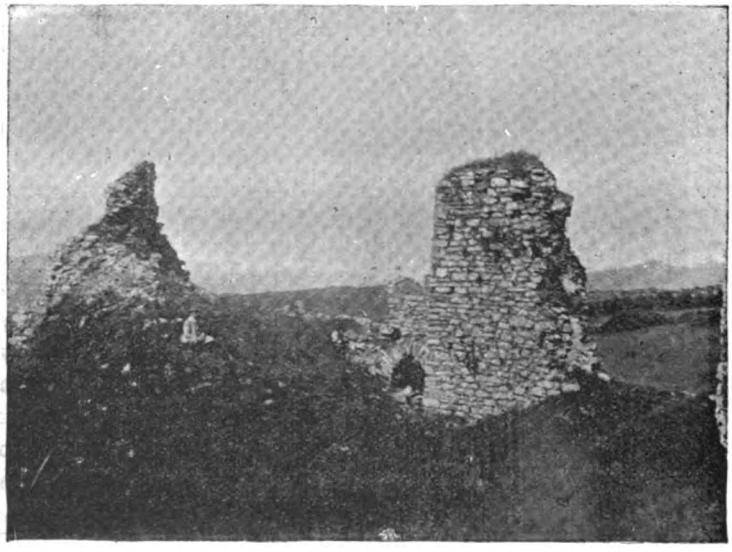
(11) From the Annals of Innisfallen under the year 1206 it appears that Donogh-na-Himerce Timchill O'Mahony as also Donogh O'Brien and O'Donoghue co-operated with the sons of Donal against Finghin.

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rest to Cormac, urging them to aid him in his war with Scotland. It appears, from the Monasticon Hibernicum, that, in 1224, Cormac founded the Abbey of Tracton, two miles south of Carrigaline, in the Barony of Kinalea, and furnished it with Cistercian Monks.

Cormac Fionn left six sons, who became the founders of important branches of the MacCarthy sept. The eldest was Donal Roe, who succeeded Cormac, and to whom we shall refer presently. The second son was Doun of Inis Droighan, ancestor of the MacCarthys of Acharassy. The third was Dermod, ancestor of the MacDonogh MacCarthys, Lords of Ealls (Duhallow). The Fourth was Donall, from whom sprang the Clan-Donall Fionn. The fifth son was Donnchadh-an-Dromin *a quo* the McDonnells of Barretts; and the sixth was Donall Cairthneach, the ancestor of the Macartneys (of which sept the celebrated Lord Macartney was an illustrious member).

(To be continued).



ARDEA CASTLE.

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General Vallancey's Account of Staigue Fort.



IN his "Account of the Ancient Stone Amphitheatre lately discovered in the County of Kerry," published in Dublin in 1812, and written by that enthusiastic admirer of the Irish language, General Charles Vallancey, we have evidently the first published notice of the famous Staigue Fort, which Dr. Joyce in his Irish Atlas declares to be the most perfectly preserved circular stone caher in Ireland. The greater part of the pamphlet is devoted to fragments of Irish history supposed to have some connection with this fort, but in the present article the descriptive notice of it is all that is copied from the now scarce "Account."

"It is surprising that this very ancient and curious building was not described by Dr. Smith in his "Antient and Present State of the County of Kerry," published in 1756. Fortunately it stands in a wild and desolate part of the country, where no gentleman or wealthy farmer has thought proper to settle; or, as in the case of other ancient buildings of this country, there would not now be left one stone upon another.

In the year 1787, when on my military survey of Ireland, I detached my associated surveyor (Mr. William Byles) to this quarter of Kerry, he reported that it was an ancient stone fort, formerly used for the security of cattle at night, but that there were several remarkable flights of stairs within the sides. Stone Fort is the name that was entered in the Field Book, and as

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such it stands in the military survey. Byles being again despatched to that country, took the plan from which the annexed engravings are taken (these are unfortunately missing from the present writer's copy). It is 90 feet in diameter, 20 feet high, 14 feet thick at base and 7 feet thick at top, broad enough to erect temporary seats for the spectators, which (seats) may have been either wood or sod, with an awning or something ornamental for the Reise or Irish Rajah. The number of staircases then became necessary for the convenience of getting to the seats with ease, and without molestation to those already seated.

In September, 1811, this place was visited by Mr. L. Foster and Mr. Rochfort, two of the Bog Commissioners, who drew up the following description:—"The building is situated 20 miles west by south of the village of Kenmare, and stands in a narrow valley, bounded on three sides by high and abrupt mountains, and on the fourth opening to the bay of Kenmare, which is about three miles distant. It is called by the country people, *Steag*, which signifies 'The Staircases.' The stones of which it is built are an indurated schistus, the common material of the surrounding mountains. They are small, unhewn, and carefully fitted together without cement. The whole is still in complete preservation, except the steps of the staircases, which are many of them a good deal defaced,—and the trench, which is in some places choked up with earth. It is difficult now to ascertain what was the nature of the original passages across the ditch. At A and B are two doors, not above 3 feet high, and 2 feet 6 inches wide. They communicate each with a cell of an oval form, concealed in the thickness of the wall, 6 feet 6 inches high, 12 feet in length, and 4 feet 4 inches in breadth. The roofs of these cells are formed by stones each projecting beyond the stone immediately beneath it, but without the principle of an arch. These cells materially weaken the strength of the wall, and this circumstance, coupled with that of there having been

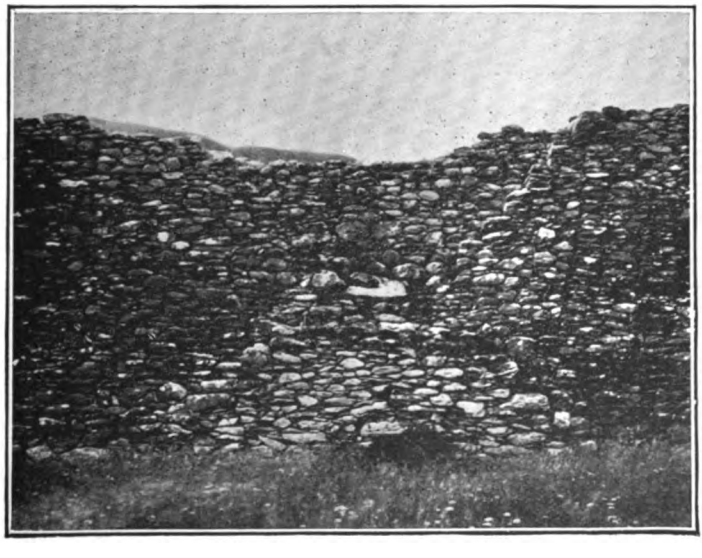
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no parapet on the wall at top, seems to denote that *defence was not the primary object of this structure.* At a distance of about 100 yards to the S.S.W. are the remains of a circular building, 15 feet in diameter, and about 50 yards further in a direction S. by W. are the remains of another of similar dimensions. They are neither of them more than a few feet in height, but may formerly have formed the bases of high towers."

"Being certain of having a description and a good drawing of this building" (writes in conclusion General Vallancey) "from Mr. Pelham, who resides in the county and was engaged in the History and Antiquities of Kerry, Mr. Byles' plan and elevation lay by in my portfolio neglected, till Mr. Foster's narrative brought them to memory. I had received many drawings of pillars with Ogham inscriptions from Mr. Pelham, which are engraved in the 6th Volume of my "Collectanea"; and I am certain that this curious building has not escaped him, if his papers are forthcoming."

Perhaps some member of the Kerry Archæological Association may be able to throw light on Mr. Pelham and his papers on the History of Kerry.

JAMES COLEMAN.



STAIGUE FORT (north-west chamber and steps).

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STAIGUE FORT (south-west chamber and steps).



STAIGUE FORT (doorway from the inner side).

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Inquisition of 1584.

Translation of a Certified Copy of a Record in the Public Record Office, Ireland, entitled, "Inquisition Exchequer, Eliz: Kerry No. 2."

INQUISITION taken at the town of Dingley-decush,(1) in the County of Kerry, on the 6th of October, in the 26th year of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, Queen, by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, before Nicholas Walsh, Esquire, Chief Justice of the Province of Munster, in the said Kingdom of Ireland; Thomas J. Wyseman, Robert Rosier and Arthur Robbyns, Esquires, Commissioners (. . .) to inquire by the oaths of good and lawful men of the counties of Waterford, Tipperary, counties of the Cross in Tipperary, Kerry, Cork, Desmond and Limerick, in the said Province of Munster, concerning all and singular the Lordships, manors, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, incomes, forests, free parks, warrens, wastes, mines, quarries, rectories, annuities, annual rents, fees, portions, farms for term of life or years, knights' fees, fee farms, woods, thickets, fisheries in open or close waters, ports, customs and markets, rights, profits, privileges, emoluments,

(1) In a plea roll of the 18th year of Edward I this town appears under the name of "Dengynhuysse," so far as I can ascertain this is the oldest known form of the name. W. M. Hennessy.

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reliefs, escheats, forfeitures, hereditaments, whatsoever which by reason of or on account of attainders, escheats, forfeitures, convictions, deaths, have by Act of Parliament have been restored or given up to our said Lady the Queen, and what lands have been detrained and subtracted and concealed from our said Lady the Queen under the Great Seal of her Kingdom of Ireland bearing date Dublin on the 22nd day of August, in the 26th year of our said Lady the Queen,—more fully appears.

Richard Trante, of Dingle, merchant
Stephen Rice, of the same, ,,
John Rice, ,, ,,
Nicholas Trante, ,, ,,
John Walsh ,, ,,
Patrick Nagill, ,, ,,
Walter Rice, ,, ,,
Thomas Trante, ,, ,,
William Goldinge, ,, ,,
William Trante, ,, ,,
Gerald Trante, ,, ,,
Edmond Russell (2) ,, ,,
Edward Rice, ,, ,,
Dominick Rice, ,, ,,
Rowland Rice, ,, ,,
Edmund Trant, ,, ,,
Nicholas Nagill, ,, ,,

Who on their sacred oath say as aforesaid, that Gerald, the late Earl of Desmond, seduced and instigated by devilish and malicious thoughts, on the 2nd day of November, in the (twenty) first year of our said Lady the Queen, collected together a multitude of malefactors and rascals ready and prepared to enter in war and a rebellion against our said Sovereign Lady the Queen and her crown and dignity; for which war and rebellion the said Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, on the 25th day of September, in the 24th year of our said Lady the

(2) Russells seem to have abounded formerly in Corkaguinny. Some 50 years ago a townland in Kilquane parish was peopled solely by different families of Russells, not one member of whom could speak English, only the old Kerry Irish

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Queen, by ordinance of law was attainted. And they say that the said Gerald at the time of his entering into the said rebellion, and at the time of his attainder aforesaid, was seized in his lordship as of fee talliat, viz.—to himself and the lawful heires male of his body of the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments hereafter mentioned;

Viz., of the honours castle or manor called The Island (3) containing in Lordship lands eight carucates, with their appurtenances, in the County of Kerry aforesaid, and of the great mountain called Slieve Loughrue,(4) and of all lands, towns, pastures, woods, groves, thickets, rivers, fisheries, mines, quarries, royalties, and of all other hereditaments and parcels in and on the said mountain existing, in the said County;

Of the castle, town and tenements of Corrynye, (5) containing six carucates of land, with their appurtenances, in the said County of Kerry;

Of the town and lands called Manner More, containing four carucates of land, with their appurtenances;

Of an old and ruined castle called Countess's Castle, with twenty acres of land belonging to the Castle of Traly, in the County aforesaid, in the Manor of Tralye, containing in lands of his Lordship twelve carucates of land, with their appurtenances, in the said County. And of sixteen quarters of land in Iraght-I-Connor, in the said County of Kerry;

Of the town and lands called the Keerseye (6) containing ten carucates of land, with their appurtenances, in the said county, and of one carucate of land with its appurtenances, in Listroame, (7) in the said County;

(3) i.e. Castleisland; this passed to the Desmonds through a marriage with the daughter of the builder, Geoffrey de Marisco. It was afterwards granted to the Herberts.
(4) Sliebh Luachra i.e. mountain of rushes.
(5) Currens.
(6) The Kerries in Clogherbrien parish.
(7) Listrim in the Barony of Trughenackmy and parish of Ballynahaglish.

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Of one carucate of land, with its appurtenances, in Cahirfleming, in the said County.

Of the castle, town, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of Tawlaght, containing four carucates of land in Clanmorris, in the County of Kerry aforesaid, near Frenaghe ; (8).

Of tenements called Barrowe (9,) and Knockenaghe, containing two carucates of land with their appurtenances in Clanmorris in the said County, near Frenaghe; and they say that William MacJeffrey was the last tenant in that parcel of land in Barrowe and Knockenaghe aforesaid, and that he died without heirs, and that his interest in the said lands is now by forfeiture vested in our said Lady the Queen;

And of one carucate of land called Kaherarde with its appurtenances, near the lands of MacGriffine, in the said County Kerry;

And of the castle, town, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of Killorglin, containing nine carucates of land; with [their appurtenances], and of the fisheries in the rivers or waters near the said lands;

And of a hundred and . . . acres of land in Killvallylahiff, with its appurtenances, in the said County, near unto Glanegealte; (10).

Of Ballygahill, containing three carucates of land, with their appurtenances, in the said County, near Slieveloghrie aforesaid;

Of a parcel of land called Glanloghie, containing three carucates of land, with their appurtenances, and of a hundred and sixty acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Ardmoor,(11) in the Parish of Kynearde, in the County aforesaid, and of a parcel of land containing two carucates of land with their appurtenances in Kenarde Iraghe, in the said County;

And of forty acres of land with their appurten-

(8) Frenaghe i.e. Fenit.

(9) Barrowe is described in the Desmond Survey as "a rabbit warren."

(10) Gleann-na ngealt i.e. the valley of the Lunatics (Joyce).

(11) Ardmore close to Lispole. There are a fort and other ancient remains here.

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ances in Killnecleraghe,(12) in the said County, [near] the town of Dingle, of which five acres are called the Park(13)of Dingle, and one mill which is called the Dingle Mill.

Of eighty acres of land in Ballihee with their appurtenances in the said County, near Dingle;

Of Monereye(14) containing four carucates of land with their appurtenances in the said County, which were demised to Peter Rice;

Of Cloosmoore, containing three carucates with their appurtenances in the Parish of Dingle, in the said County;

Of forty acres of land in Rahine Vohe, in the said Parish of Dingle, in said County;

Of twenty acres of land in Balleanyn-ne-Manaboghte with their appurtenances in the Parish of Dingle, in said County;

Of eighty acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Ballintarmyn (15) in the Parish of Ballynacourtye, in said County;

Of Harperstown (16) with its appurtenances in the said County of Kerry, which were held of him, and not [. . .];

Of certain parcels of land called the Two Kilkowans; (17).

Of Shanakyll (18)near Smerwick, in the County of Kerry aforesaid, containing forty acres, paying to the Bishop of Ardart some rent, the certain amount of which they, the jurors, are ignorant of;

Of Ardycannye, alias Smerwick, containing eighty acres of land with their appurtenances in the said

(12) Kilnaglearah—the Countess's church. It belonged to the Countess of Desmond.

(13) Described in the Desmond Survey as "a parcel of land near the said mansion" in the town "formerly a wood containing 35 acres of land, late in the tenure of Edmond Russell. Probably a part of what is now called "The Grove."

(14) Monaree, parish of Kildrum, described in the survey as "Menaree, alias the King's more or Heathmore in the tenure of Peter Rice."

(15) Ballintermon not forfeited in 1641, apparently owned then by Lord Broghill.

(16) Harperstown or Ballymacadoyle (the townland of the blind man's son) was held by Patrick Rice Fitz Thomas, who was turned out by the Government but restored by decree of innocence.

(17) i.e. Kilquane.

(18) i.e. old church. There are 2 ruined churches. The name was of course applied to the older.

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County, of which he demised twenty acres to Peter Rice at a yearly rent of thirty shillings four pence, and that a yearly chief rent of thirty shillings and four pence was due to him out of Fereter de [. .];

Of Monenrye, with its appurtenances;

Of forty acres in Ballinleighe with its appurtenances, in the Parish of Ventry and County of Kerry aforesaid;

Of twenty acres of land, with their appurtenances, in Ballydavye, in the Parish of Kilcowan;

Of fifteen acres of land, with their appurtenances, called Titler Lands, in the said Parish, in the said County;

Of fifteen acres of land with their appurtenances, called Faren Ieryelaghe, in the said Parish, in the said County;

Of the castle, town, lands tenements, and hereditaments of Ballynoe,[19] in the Parish of Killury, in Clanmorris, in the said County;

Of twelve carucates of land, with their appurtenances, in Imelaghfadden, in the Parish of Kilmelcheder, in the said County;

Of Kogerigh Kerrye, containing twelve carucates, with all the woods, groves, and other hereditaments thereto appertaining in the said County, and of the great mountain called Slyevemisse, with all the rivers and waters flowing therein, and appertaining to the freeholders and tenants adjacent to the said waters;

Of the castle, town, lands, tenements, and hereditaments of Tarbert, containing eight quarters of land, with their appurtenances;

Of the town, lands, and tenements of Ballymacdonell, and of Clonecloghe, and of other lands in Cowlosoghtie;

Of the town, lands, and tenements of Ballyvick Keygoghe, with their appurtenances, in the said County;

(19) Ballynoe, New Town. Described in the "Desmond Survey" as being "now ruined and waste," and containing "bogs and other wastes; late in the tenure of Thomas Browne attainted."

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Of all the lands called the Half Knight's Fee of Knockenaghe, in the said County, with their appurtenances;

Of a tenement formerly David Brenagh's(20) in said town of Dingle;

Of a tenement called Ballyvridghe in the Borough of Dingle aforesaid, with its appurtenances between the lands of Stephen Rice on the east, and the lands of Thomas MacGarrett (21) on the north;

And of fifteen acres in Ardarte, formerly the land of John Beg Mac William FitzPatrick, of which Robert Rice has three parts of one acre in mortgage;

Of Ballintarremon, containing fifty-eight acres with their appurtenances, in the same County;

Also they say upon their sacred oath that the aforesaid Gerald, late Earl of Desmond, at the time of his rebellion was seized as of fee talliat, viz—to himself and the heirs male of his body, of the annual rent of six shillings and eight pence out of twelve carucates in the Cantred of Iraght-I-Conogher, which Cantred contains a hundred and five carucates of land (except sixteen quarters in the said Cantred, containing thirty-two carucates, part of the said hundred and five, which thirty-two were lordship lands of the said late Earl at the time of his attainder);

Also they say on their solemn oath that the said late Earl, at the time of his entering into rebellion, and at the time of his death in rebellion, was seized as of fee to himself and the lawful heirs male of his body, of an annual chief rent of twelve marks of the money called "half face" out of Ferryter's(21) lands, alias Donearlinge, and Ferryter's Island, in the same County;

And of a chief rent of 26 shillings and 8 pence of the money called half-face, out of Ringvoarkye with its appurtenances, in the said County;

(20) Brenagh i.e. Walsh.
(21) Ferriter's Lands or Ferriter's Quarters were in 1641 in the possession of Edward Fitz Dominick Fitz Stephen Rice who forfeited. In 1674 they were granted by patent to the Countess of Mountrath and others.

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And of a chief rent of 26 shillings and 8 pence out of Himlaghskarron(22) with its appurtenances in the said County of Kerry;

And of a chief rent of 4 pounds in the money called half-face money, out of the town of Dingle aforesaid, of which chief rent of 4 pounds on the said houses, messuages, lands and tenements in the aforesaid town, are in the hands of the said Lady the Queen, by escheat.

Of a chief rent of 10 shillings of half-face money out of Imelaghfadden(23)in the said County, with its appurtenances;

Of a chief rent of 12 pence half-face money out of the Kilvickeydeye with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 12 pence of half-face money out of Tirrervan, with its appurtenances, in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 12 pence of like money out of Clonhewyne, with its appurtenances, in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 22 shillings of like money out of Ballyvicrobboge (23) with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 3 pence, of like money, out of Cahirbue with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 8 pence, of like money, out of Kilfoelan (24)with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of five shillings of like money out of Ballyvickingowen with its appurtenances, in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 20 pence of like money out of Ballintohill with its appurtenances, in the said County;

(22) There were three places in Corkaguinny called Imlagh in 1641. (1) Imlagh part of Ballinvoher forfeited by John McCirgg—granted to Sir Valentine Brown under the Act of Settlement, and forfeited by him, and sold in 1703 to John Asgill. (2) Imlagh, in the parish of Marhin, forfeited by Patrick Rice Fitz Richard; and (3) Imlagh or Imlagh-skarron, in the parish of Dingle, forfeited by Pierse Rice; both granted in 1674 to the Countess of Mountrath.

(23) Called in the Desmond Survey "Ballyvickrobuck." Mr Hennessy says there "was a Ballyrubbick in Kilquane parish." This was forfeited in 1641 by Henry Moore and granted to Sir Theophilus Jones.

(24) Mr Hennessy identifies this with Killellan, in the parish of Dingle, (mentioned in the Book of Survey of 1641), which was forfeited by Maurice FitzGerald, of Castle Ishin, Co. Cork, and granted to the Countess of Mountrath.

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Of a chief rent of twelve pence of like money out of Nybolye(25) with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 6 shillings and 8 pence of like money out of Ballyconnye, with its appurtenances, in the said County;

Of a chief rent of four shillings of like money out of Rinconill (26) with its appurtenances in said County.

Of a chief rent of 13 shillings and 5 pence of like money out of Leamlin with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 7 shillings of like money out of Cossinsydiallye with its appurtenances in the said County of Kerry;

Of a chief rent of 14 shillings of like money out of Park (27) with its appurtenances in the said County of Kerry;

Of a chief rent of 2 shillings and 6 pence of like money out of Ballyvickagilene with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 2 shillings and 6 pence of like money out of Faryhilondrye, with its appurtenances, in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 26 shillings and 8 pence of like money out of Ballenvahownye and Garrenaghe with their appurtenances in said County;

Of a chief rent of 6 shillings and 8 pence of like money out of Gowlane (28) with its appurtenances in the said County;

Of a chief rent of 20 shillings of like money out of Balleneseare with its appurtenances in the said County;

And of a chief rent of 20 shillings of like money out of a certain mill (29) therein;

(25) Nybolve, called in the Desmond Survey "the town and lands of Neville."
(26) Sometimes written Rennconnell. It was in 1641 forfeited by Maurice FitzGerald, of Castle Ishin, and granted in 1674 to the Countess of Mountrath.
(28) Most likely Gowlane, in the Parish of Kinard.
(29) Described in the Desmond Survey as "the old mill of Corkonyne" or Corcaguinny. It is from this that the townland of Miltown takes its name. In 1641 it was forfeited by Christian Trant, alias Skiddy, and in 1674 was granted to the Countess of Mountrath. It was however later in the hands of Thomas Skiddy, who forfeited under William III, and in 1703 these lands were sold at Chichester House to the Hollow Swords Blade Company.

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And of a like rent of 2 shillings out of Cliffordstown, with its appurtenances.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that the late Gerald Earl of Desmond aforesaid, at the time of his entering into rebellion as aforesaid and at the time of his death in rebellion was seized as of right and fee talliat, viz. to himself and the lawful heirs male of his body of a chief rent of £8 4s. 11d. issuing out of Offeriba in the County of Kerry aforesaid, in the manner following;—viz:

From Ballendromaghe 9 pence
From Cahervisselen 4 shillings
From Liskean 5 shillings
From Loghorte Cannon 10 shillings
From Ballinawlorte 8 shillings
From Cnockynaghe 10 shillings
From Ballybeggan[30] 6 shillings and 8 pence
From Thomastowne[31] 4 shillings
From Ballylodynye 4 shillings
From Ballymachelligott 6 pence
From Lemarcaheld[32] 6 shilling and 8 pence
From Ballimacincruttynye 10 shillings
From Killtallmye 10 shillings
From Clonecloghe 6 shillings and 8 pence
From Killelym 6 shilings and 8 pence
From Rathokinderrye 4 shillings
From Cowlecoughe 13 shillings and 4 pence
From Anaghinruddereye[6] 10 shillings
From Dromaltonbegge 6 shillings and 8 pence
From Gortglasse 2 shillings
From Killenamye 5 shillings
From Ballymolier 10 shillings
From Keamgillye 26 shillings and 8 pence

Also they say that the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond at the time of his entering into rebellion, and at the

30 About 1630 BallyBeggan was sold by Walter Hussey, but in the wars of 1641 he again seized it. He forfeited and the castle was demolished. Later the lands were granted to a Cromwellian named Brett, and a house was built there, which was for many years the seat of the Morris family.

31 Thomastowne i e BallymacThomas between BallyMacElligott and Ballyseedy.

32 Lemarchald, another name for Maglass.

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time he was killed in rebellion was seized as of fee to him and the lawful heirs male of his body of a chief rent of 10 pounds of the money called half face money out of the town lands tenements and hereditaments of Traly with its appurtenances in the said County.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond aforesaid, at the time of his death in rebellion was seized as of fee to himself and the lawful heirs male of his body of a chief rent of £24 and £7 19s. 6d. half-face, yearly out of Desmond, viz:

From Bearye 16 pounds,
From Glanesynye £2 13 shillings and 4 pence,
From Christa [33] £3 6s. 8d.
From Kilmore [34] Ardkirrihie £8
From Ballenveggilye £2
From Bordonyne [35] £3
From Itcharchnoe £2
From Orathache £26 13s. 4d.
From Glankarragh £2
From Glanbolde £2
From Twohchlanyhegha £2 13s. 4d.
From Ballyslevine £1 7s. 1d.
From Cuillmogalt 13s. 4d.
From Dunloithe [36] 13s. 4d.
From Kilmore O Murrihirtig alias O'Murrihartig £5
From Tulliglassan and Ballyspellan 6s. 8d.
From Clere £6 13s. 4d.
From Glanflesk [37] 6s. 8d.
From Rean-ne-Galleatche 3s. 4d.
From Rosserlevine £2
From Begennis 6s. 8d.
From Lismuddaine 2s.
From Teenehallye 2s. 6d.

33 i e Tuosist.
34 Kilmore in Dairtre or Valencia, from Glenflesk.
35 Bordonyne comprised that tract of land along the sea shore now, called Ballyboy.
36 ie Dunloe.
37 In 1641 a large portion of Glenflesk was held by Morrow Ferris, Dermod Mahony and Daniel Carthy who were turned out, and their possessions granted to one Thomas Ball for the use of Elinor Blackist n who seems to have been the widow of some Cromwellian Officer, W. M. Hennessy.

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From Dunguill £1
From Ballyiverane 2s. 3d.
From Ballemonychaen 2s.
From Sheandirrye 10s.
From Terr Clone alias Inglonach
From Ballydonith 10s.
From Seaneren Desmond 2s.
From Killchriderye 2s.
From Fannemore 4s.
From Balliacharaith 12s.
From Clewyliethe 6s. 8d.
From Clone-Muriertaghe 3s. 4d.
From Donhe 12 pence
From Tullaghmore 3s.
From the town of Gregory 2s.
From the meadows of Rosslovin 12 pence
From Gortlieghe 3s. 4d.
From Ardcanith [38] £2
From Inchfereglin [39] yearly at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel, fifty birds called puffins
From Beginnis six hundred rabbit skins;
From the Mill of Rosserlovin yearly fifty-four bushels of oats.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond at the time of his entering into the aforesaid rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion was seized as of fee to him and the lawful heirs male of his body of a yearly rent of £160 issuing out of the Cantred of Clanmaurice in the said County of Kerry and of another yearly rent of 120 cows out of the said Cantred of Clanmorris, which said rents of money and cows he was accustomed to levy off certain parcels of the said Cantred, some parcels of them being wasted, uncultivated, and uninhabited. Little or none of the said rent can now be levied off the said lands.

38 Kilgarrylander Parish in 1641 owned by Fineen Carthy. Granted to Trinity College.
39 Fargtin or Puffin Island, Barony of Iveragh. Granted to Robert Marshall under the Act of Settlement.

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Also they say that Thomas now Baron of Lixnawe, Lord of Clanmaurice and his predecessors had taken the twentieth part of the said yearly rent of money and cows to their own use and profit.

Also they say that the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond at the time of his entering into rebellion, and at the time of his death in rebellion was seized as of fee, etc., to a certain yearly rent of £10 out of the town, lands and tenements in Desmond hereafter mentioned, viz:

From Lettyre[40] 13s. 4d.
From Kilkeveraghe 13s. 4d.
From Ringkaheragh [41]13s. 4d.
From Kilcoman[42] 6s. 8d.
From Killowe 6s. 8d.
From Derrindowglasshye and Kilcoman [43] 6s. 8d.
From Garraen 6s. 8d.
From Liskenan 13s. 4d.
From Latiffe 13s. 4d.
From Tirahea 13s. 4d.
From Lisballymyoell and Lismoroghe 13s. 4d.
From Endae Gromod 13s. 4d.
From Endae Tyre O'Myle 13s. 4d.
From Cannoughe 13s. 4d.
From Ballymacgullyneolan 13s. 4d.
From Quarerowe-ny-gaell 13s. 4d.
From Caherlehillen 6s. 8d.
From Killognawyen 6s. 8d.

Also the said jurors say on their solemn oath that the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion was seized in his right and fee in the customs and coquets [44] of the town of Dingle of which customs and coquets he and his ancestors from time

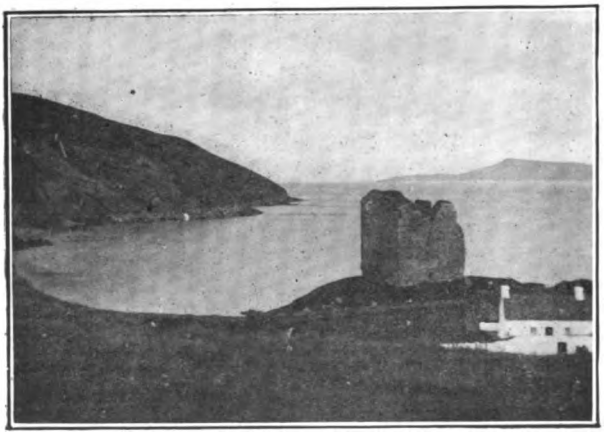
40 Now Letter Parish of Caherciveen.
41 Apparently Kilgrath in the Parish of Killemlagh.
42 Kilcolman.
43 All these lands in Caherciveen Parish were in 1641 in possession of members of the McCrohon and O'Connell's families. They were subsequently granted to Trinity College.
44 Coquet i. e. Customs or fees charged on goods passing through Custom Houses, so called from the word "Cocketum" the King's Seal attached to the certificate of Clearance.

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immemorial were seised in their right and fee, and that they were seised of the custom of the wines called prisage or prise wines of the said town (although the Earls of Ormond claimed for themselves the said custom called prisage and said it ought to appertain to them), and that all wrecks of the sea in all the ports, creeks and other such places in the County of Kerry belonged to the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and that he was accustomed to have out of every fishing vessel which fished within the Ports or Harbours of Ventry and Ferriter's Haven the sum of 13s. 4d.

Also they say that Gerald late Earl of Desmond at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion was possessed of all the late religious houses at O'Dorney and Rathoye with their appurtenances which he held from our Lady the Queen for a term of years.

(To be continued).



MINARD CASTLE.

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Notes & Queries

1. SITE OF SMALL CASTLE. TOWNLAND OF GARRANEBAWN. About ¼ mile west of Cahirciveen on south side of road to Waterville. Site now occupied by Bungalow built by W. J. Delap. In pulling down ruin of old cottage, several large dressed stones were discovered. In laying waterpipe rere of Bungalow, half of an old cast iron cannon ball was dug up, about 5 inches in diameter. Probably Cromwell's General, when he blew up Ballycarbery Castle (which is directly opposite across the estuary), demolished this castle also. If I recollect aright, this castle is marked on the map in Smith's History of Kerry.

McCROHAN'S CASTLE, LETTER. About three miles from Cahirciveen, on the South slope of the mountain under which Cahirciveen stands. Townland of Letter and Parish of Cahir. This must have been an important stronghold with a "Bawn," and a moat, which could be filled from the adjoining stream. Only the mounds of debris and marks of the old works can be seen, as the castle was demolished to build adjoining farm houses.

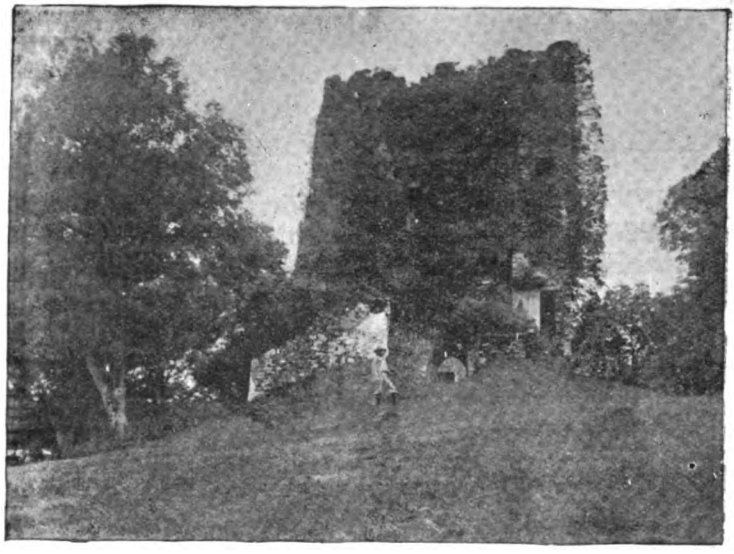
The McCrohans were a strong clan in this neighbourhood, and many families of the name still live in the district, notably on Beginish Island, in Valencia Harbour.

W. J. DELAP.

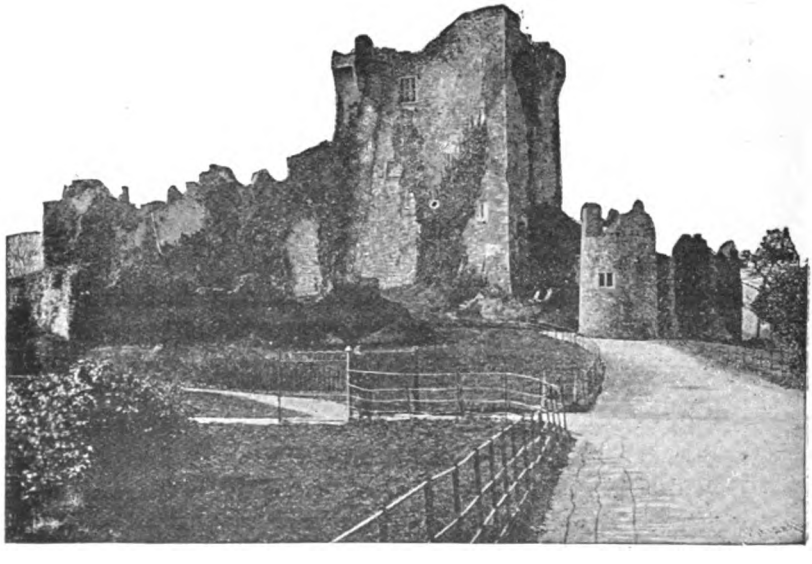
2. Since going to Press we have heard with deep regret of the death of one of our members, Mr. W. J. Delap, who, with his sister, took much trouble in writing the interesting paper on "Old Kerry Burial Grounds," which appears in this number of our Magazine. His loss is very widely felt in Kerry.

ED.

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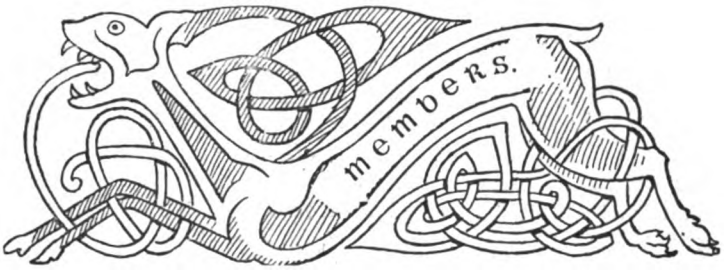


DUNKERRON CASTLE (Front View).



ROSS CASTLE, KILLARNEY.

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Kerry Archæological Magazine.

FITZGERALD EARL OF DESMOND

FITZMAURICE LORD KERRY

Carving from Ardfert Cathedral.

Pillar from Doorway at Aghadoe.

MCARTHY MOR

FITZGERALD KNIGHT OF KERRY

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Clann Carthaigh (continued) by S. T. McCarthy	233
Rath and Cloghane at Bally-hea-Bought, by the Bishop of Limerick	252
Ballymacquim Castle by Bligh Talbot Crosbie	254
Kerry Royal Descents No. 2.	261
Inquisition of 1584 (concluded)	263
List of Newspapers	280
List of Members	285
Notes and Queries	287

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M'CARTHY MOR

FITZGERALD KNIGHT OF KERRY

Contents

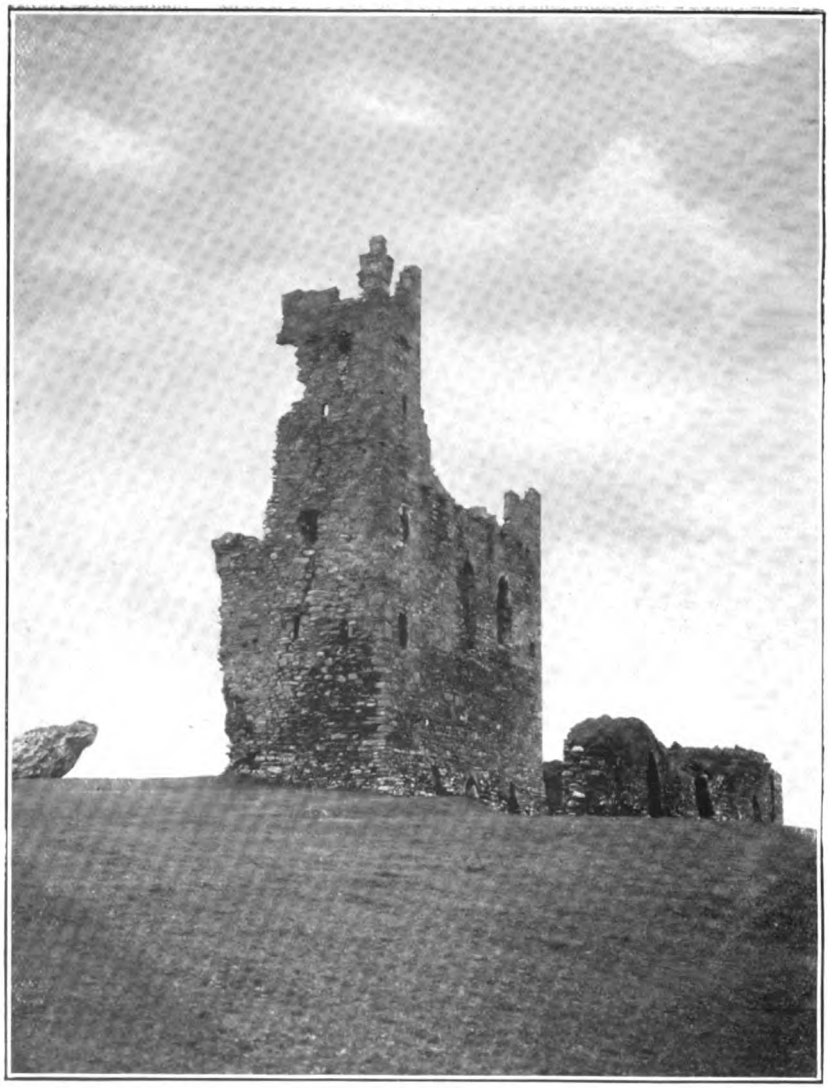
	PAGE
The Clann Carthaigh (continued) by S. T. McCarthy	233
Rath and Cloghane at Bally-hea-Bought, by the Bishop of Limerick	252
Ballymacquim Castle by Bligh Talbot Crosbie	254
Kerry Royal Descents No 2.	261
Inquisition of 1584 (concluded)	263
List of Newspapers	280
List of Members	285
Notes and Queries	287

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BALLYCARBERY CASTLE.

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The Clann Carthaigh

By S. T. McCARTHY.

(Continued from Page 208).



ONAL ROE MacCARTHY MOR (who, on Cormac Fionn's death in or after the year 1244, succeeded as Prince of Desmond), married Margaret, daughter of Nicholas Fitzmaurice, third Lord of Kerry. His reign was signalised by the two important battles of Callan in 1261 and of Mangerton in 1262. In the former the Geraldines were defeated by Donall's cousin, Finghin Ragh-na Roin, son of Donal Gott. The Fitzgeralds had gradually been strengthening their position in Desmond, from the time when Raymond le Gros received from King Dermod the grant of Clanmorris (which gave that branch of the family their first footing in the country) either by conquests from the MacCarthys or further grants by that family in reward for military service during their feuds. The rival chiefs were wont to seek alliances with strangers, and to make over, to the latter, large tracts of country as the price of their assistance. Such alienation being forbidden by the law of Tanistry, and consequently liable to be set aside on the cessation of strife, the Norman settlers, being well aware of this, proceeded to safeguard their own possessions by the erection of strongholds into which they threw bodies of armed men,

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so that, in time, the whole of Munster became dotted with these fortresses. The Fitzgeralds, in this way, acquired a very strong position. This position, at the period with which we are now dealing, was further reinforced by the accession of the King's Deputy, Lord Justice Sir William Denn. In addition to this they secured the alliance of Donal Roe MacCarthy, who, as already stated, had married a Fitzmaurice. This powerful force was opposed by the main body of the MacCarthys, headed by three sons of Donall Gott, namely Finghin of Ragh-na-Roin, Cormac of Mangerton, and Donal Maol. They came into conflict at a place called Callan, in the barony of Glenarough, and within a short distance of Kilgarvan, where the MacCarthys inflicted a signal defeat on the Geraldines and their allies. The Four Masters recount that in this battle fell "8 barons and 15 knights besides others of the English nobles, as also John Fitzthomas and Barrymore."[1] They add that Finghin was afterwards killed by the English. According to the Annals of Innisfallen, he was killed by Miles Cogan and the De Courceys, at the castle of Rinn Roin, near Kinsale, from which place he derived his historical agnomen. From all accounts he seems to have been the greatest hero of the Eugenian line that appeared since the Norman invasion.

The battle of Mangerton took place a year after that of Callan. This is what the Four Masters say about it: "An Army was led by MacWilliam Burke, and the English of Ireland, into Desmond against MacCarthy, and arrived at Mangartach of Loch Lein. There Gerald Roche, who was said to have been the third best knight of his time in Ireland, was slain by MacCarthy. This was a triumph without joy to Desmond, for Cormac, son of Donall Gott MacCarthy, was slain. Indeed both the English and the Irish suffered great loss about the Mangartach Mountains on that day." It

(1) John FitzThomas FitzGerald, afterwards known as John of Callan. He was the founder of the Dominican Monastery at Tralee. Hanmer states that his son Maurice also fell. The latter's son Thomas was an infant nine months old at the time, of whom the legend goes that he was carried by an ape to the top of the Dominican bell tower and brought back safely to his nurse.

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would seem from this that, though the battle has been claimed as a triumph by the MacCarthys, it must have been for them in the nature of a "Cadmean" victory.

The Fitzgeralds were so crushed by their defeat at Callan that the MacCarthys had it all their own way for many years afterwards. To quote from the graphic account given by Dr. Hanmer, "The Carties played the Divells in Desmond, where they burned, spoiled, preyed, and slew many an innocent; they became so strong and prevailed so mightily, that for the space (so it is reported) of twelve years the Desmond durst not put plow in ground in his owne country." The Irish Chieftains of South Munster burned and levelled the castles of Dun-Mac-Toman, Duninsi, Dunnagall, Cuandore, Dundeady, Dunnalong, Macroom, Muirgioll, Dunnamark, Dunloe, Killorglin, and the greater part of the castles of Hy Conaill Gabhra, and killed their English warders.

There is no doubt that, for a time, the Fitzgeralds were utterly disabled, and the power of the MacCarthys was in the ascendant. So it was continued for many years, and doubtless would have continued longer, were it not that, to quote again from Hanmer, "At length, through the operation of Satan, a bane of discord was thrown between the Carties and the Odriscoles, O'Donovans, MacDonagh, MacMahonna, MacSwines, and the inhabitants of Muscrie, in so much that by their cruell dissension they weakened themselves of all sides, so that the Desmond, in the end, overcame and over-topped them all."

As has already been stated, Donal Roe MacCarthy sided with the Geraldines against the rest of his clansmen at the battle of Callan. This seems to have been the outcome of family dissensions, which, however, came to an end on the death of Finghin Ragh na Roin. So says Monsieur Lainé, who adds that thereafter the family hatred of the English united all branches in common cause against the invaders. It is stated that, in 1280, Donal Roe was unanimously chosen their

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Chieftain, and that, under his leadership, the men of Desmond gained many victories over the English and drove them from several of their fortresses. Advancing years, however, seem to have brought about a more pacific feeling towards his quondam adversaries. Amongst the State records there is extant a letter, written in 1284, by "Donal Rufus MacCarthy Lord of the Irish of Desmond" to King Edward I., vehemently desiring to be subjected to his domination and to acquire the King's friendship by his services. This letter he sent by "Brother Walter of Kilkenny, Reader of the Dominicans of Cashel," to whom he gives carte blanche to treat with the King. Then, on the 20th May, 1285, were issued letters of Protection and Safe Conduct to "Donal Roth MacCarthy of Desmond" for the purposes of his journey, with a moderate retinue, etc., to the King in England, his sojourn there, and return journey to Ireland. The Four Masters record Donal Roe's death "after the victory of penance," in 1302.

Donal Roe was succeeded by his elder son, Donal Oge MacCarthy Mor. In consequence of some dispute with his father's first cousin, Donal Maol MacCarthy, Lord of Carbery, he entered the dominion of the latter in 1306, and took him prisoner. He released him soon afterwards, however, and at the close of the same year both princes led their united forces against the Anglo-Normans in Desmond. Donal Oge died in 1307, leaving, besides a son Cormac, of whom presently, a daughter named Orflaith, who married Turlogh Mor O'Brien of Thomond. Donal had a younger brother named Dermod, who was the ancestor of the Mac Finghin MacCarthys of Ceitherne and Glanerough. He was slain in 1325, at Tralee, whilst sitting on the bench at the Assizes, and in the presence of the Judge, by his own first cousin, Maurice Fitzmaurice, fourth Lord of Kerry, with whom he had a dispute. He was called Dermod "of Tralee," a loco occisionis, according to the then prevalent custom.

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Donal Oge's successor was his son Cormac MacCarthy Mor (b. 1271, d. 1359). He seems to have been the original founder of the Franciscan Abbey of Irrelagh[2], now called Muckross Abbey. According to the Annals of the Four Masters it was erected in 1340. If this date be correct—and there seems no reason to doubt it—it must have been built in Cormac's reign, and founded by him. The Four Masters, however, say that the Abbey was founded by "Donal son of Teige MacCarthy." This seems to be an error, which is probably due to the fact that the Abbey, erected in 1340, was, more than a century afterwards, rebuilt or altered or repaired by Cormac's great-grandson, Donal-an-Daim son of Teige-na-Mainistreach. Such errors in the Christian names of persons occur here and there in these Annals, which, however, are mainly correct on the point of dates. Cormac MacCarthy Mor died in 1359. He had married Honoria the daughter of Maurice Fitzmaurice, the sixth Lord of Kerry, by whom he had several sons, many of whom, like the sons of his great-grandfather, Cormac Fioun, became founders of important branches of the family. Their names are as follows—(1) Teige, Prince of Desmond, who left only a daughter named Catherine; (2) Finghin, or Florence, Prince of Desmond, who was defeated in 1350 at Rinna Roin by Miles de Courcey, Baron of Kinsale, and, with a party of his followers, drowned himself in the river Bandon. This prince had erected, in the cemetery of Clonmacnoise, a tower and a chapel both called after the MacCarthys; (3) Donal, of whom we treat presently; (4) Dermod Mor, created Lord of Muskerry in 1353, and ancestor of the Lords of Muskerry and Earls of Clancarthy; (5) Eoghan, ancestor of the Lords of Cosh-Maing; (6) Donogh a quo the MacCarthys of Ardcanaghty; (7) Donal Buidhe.

(2) *Oir Bhealach* (i e the Eastern Road or Pass). The tradition goes that the McCarthy Mor of the time, being desirous to found an Abbey, was warned in a vision not to erect it anywhere but at *Carrig an-cheoill* (i e the Rock of Music) Not knowing the locality he sent persons to find out where it was. The messengers searched for some time in vain, and were returning in despair, when, passing by Oir Bhealach they heard most enchanting music issuing from a rock which they concluded was the locality sought for. MacCarthy being satisfied that it was forthwith commenced the erection of the Abbey on that site.

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The most important of these branches, and which in time was destined, in point of opulence and distinction to tower over all the other branches of their race, was that of Muskerry. The territory possessed by this house, (like that of the house of Carbery, which had broken away from the main house more than 100 years previously), was composed to a great extent of lands wrested from the O'Mahonys and others, this great accession of territory increasing their power to such an extent as to make them virtually independent of the senior house. We shall for the present continue the history of the MacCarthy Mor branch; and afterwards deal separately with the Houses of Carbery and Muskerry.

Cormac MacCarthy Mor was succeeded by his son, Finghin; and the latter dying soon afterwards, by his next brother, Donal. This Donal MacCarthy Mor married Joanna, daughter of Maurice Oge Fitzgerald, fourth Earl of Kildare, and left two sons, i.e. (1) Teige, his successor, and (2) Donal, who died without issue in 1409.

Teige "na Mainistreach" (of the Monastery) MacCarthy Mor, so called from his munificent endowment of religious houses, b. 1340, died 1413 in the City of Cork, and was interred there, in the Franciscan Monastery which he had richly endowed. He left three sons, namely (1) Donal an Daimh, his successor; (2) Cormac, founder of the Sliochd Cormac of Dunguile, and (3) Diarmad of Tireacht.

Donal "an Dainh" (the poet) was born 1373, rebuilt the Franciscan Abbey of Irrelagh, on the borders of Lough Lein, already referred to as having been founded by his great-grandfather, Cormac MacCarthy Mor in 1340. He was one of the Irish Chieftains who, profiting by the weakness of the English power during the War of the Roses, rose in rebellion, and, in 1460, only consented to lay down their arms on condition of being paid an annual tribute. He died at an advanced age in 1468, leaving three sons, namely (1) Teige Leath,

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who succeeded him; (2) Cormac of Ballincarrig, and (3) Donal Breac; and also a daughter, Eleanor, who married Geoffrey O'Donoghue of Glenflesk.

Teige Leath MacCarthy Mor, b. 1407, was slain in 1490 in a battle between his own forces and those of the Earl of Desmand. He had two sons: (1) Donal (known under the sobriquet of "Diol-an-Cuadla"), and (2) Cormac Ladhrach, who succeeded him.

Cormac Ladrach's reign was a very troubled one. There was almost continuous warfare between him and his nephew, Teige-na-Leamhna (son of his elder brother Donal), who disputed his succession. Whether Donal predeceased his father does not appear, but it is not unlikely that he did so, and that, on Teige Leath's death, Cormac succeeded under the law of Tanistry. At any rate, the dispute between him and his nephew caused a good deal of bloodshed and misery. We find, in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the year 1508, the following entry:

"A war arose between Teige, son of Donal, i.e. the son of that MacCarthy, and MacCarthy's brother Cormac Ladhrach son of Teige son of Donal Oge, which caused the destruction of upwards of 360 of their people." Again, in 1513:

"Teige na Leamhna son of Donal son of Teige MacCarthy made a treacherous attack on Cormac Ladhrach son of Teige son of Donal Oge, each having been styled MacCarthy, and the house Cormac was in was burnt; but he himself and his constable made their way out of the house, and slew Teige's constable, and Cormac and his people departed successfully and triumphantly; Desmond was divided into two parts, between Cormac and Teige, until the death of Teige."

In so escaping, Cormac Ladbrach was more fortunate than his ancestor, Carthach, whose death was compassed in a similar way, but more successfully, about 450 years before.

Teige's death, which took place in 1514, is quaintly referred to by the Four Masters in the following terms:

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"Teige-na-Leamhna, son of Donal, son of Teige MacCarthy, died in his bed, as was not expected, as he had destroyed, and about him more had been destroyed than anyone that came of his tribe within the memory of man."

From this record of Teige's bloodstained career, and the general tenor of the recitals of "deaths and devastations, ravages and reprisals" which figure so much in the annals of this period, it is evident that the bitterness of the Sept feuds had not abated, and that strife existed even between members of the same clan. The feeling of subordination of the clansmen towards their own chiefs had in a great measure ceased to exist.

Cormac Ladhrach survived his redoubtable nephew two years, dying in 1516, as recorded by the Four Masters in the following paragraph:

"MacCarthy Mor, i.e. Cormac Ladhrach, the son of Teige, Lord of Desmond, a man who best acquired his Lordship, and who encountered the most opposition until he became undisputed Lord; one who was most bountiful to strangers and the indigent; and who maintained the best laws and regulations of any of the Lords of Leath Mogha, died."

He had married Eleanor, daughter of Edmund Fitzmaurice, ninth Earl of Kerry, by his wife Mora, daughter of O'Connor Kerry, and had two sons, i.e. Tadg Dunacaoinean,[3] who died s.p., and Donal an Dromin, his successor.

Donal-an-Dromin (or the "Dromedary") (so called from his great stature) concluded a treaty, in 1536, with the Lord Deputy Lord Leonard Grey, into whose hands he delivered his kinsmen Teige and Dermod O'Mahony as hostages for his future fealty. There was a good deal of strife between him and the Fitzmaurices in the early part of his reign, and we see from the Annals of the Four Masters, that in 1517

(3) Could this have been the Blessed Thaddeus MacCarthy? It is known that the mother of the latter was a daughter of the 9th Lord Kerry.

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"the Castle of the Lake of Killarney was taken from the sons of Cormac Ladhrach, and they themselves banished to MacMaurice. Great depredations were committed by MacMaurice in revenge, laying waste Magh-a-gCoinchinn (Magonihy) from the hills westward."

Donal-an-Dromin had two sons, namely Donal, who succeeded him, and Teige, who married a daughter of MacCarthy Reagh, and had a daughter Catherine, who married Thomas, the sixteenth Lord Kerry. He had also two daughters, i.e. Eveleen, who married, as his fourth wife, James, fifteenth Earl of Desmond, and Catherine, who married Finghin MacCarthy Reagh, uncle of the Finghin (Florence) who afterwards married the daughter of her brother, the Earl of Clancar. The death of the first-named, Princess Eveleen, in 1560, is thus chronicled in the Annals of the Four Masters:

"The daughter of MacCarthy, i.e. Eveleen, daughter of Donal, son of Cormac Ladhrach, the wife of the Earl of Desmond in her youth (i.e., James son of John son of Thomas), and afterwards wife of the Earl of Thomond (namely Conor, son of Donagh son of Conor), a charitable, humane, friendly and pious Countess died, and was buried at Oirbhealach."

Donal-an-Dromin was succeeded by his elder son Donal, during whose lordship the most remarkable events were the Desmond rebellion, and the proceedings which led to the overthrow of that great house, between which and the MacCarthys a long-standing feud had existed. To this issue, Donal MacCarthy Mor, who took sides with the English, contributed in no small degree. He was joined by many of the septs sprung from his house, though other septs of the family, unable to endure the heavy duties and taxes which he exacted from them, espoused the cause of the Earl of Desmond.[4]

(4) The following septs of his house joined McCarthy Mor: MacFyneen, Clan Donal Fionn, Slught Nyne Rudderie, Slught Donal Brick, Slught Fyneen Duff and Clan Teige Kittagh.

The following took part with his enemies: Slught Cormack of Dunguile, Slught Cormac of Ballincarrig, Slught Owen Mor of Bordmaig (or Coshmaig), Clan Dermod, and Clan Donal Roe. I gather this information from a very able and interesting state document written in 1597 by Sir Nicholas Browne, son of Sir Valentine Browne, who had then lately settled in Kerry.

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Donal MacCarthy maintained, on the whole, a loyal attitude towards the English Crown, but not continuously; as he, from time to time, relapsed into lawless courses. The first thing on record about him is an order of the 3rd May, 1551, from the Privy Council to the Lord Deputy, Sir J. Croft, to have him arrested. On the 28th July following, the Lord Deputy reported that MacCarthy had made his submission.

On the 26th April, 1558, Lord Deputy Sussex wrote to Mr. Secretary Boxall, recommending that, having regard to the continual strife between the Earl of Thomond and Sir Donogh O'Brien, the Earls of Desmond, Ormonde, and Clanrickard, MacCarthy, MacCarthy Mor and all "Captains of Nations" should be invited to aid him (the Lord Deputy) in carrying out the orders of the Queen. That MacCarthy Mor responded to that invitation, and did some good service, is presumable from the Queen's letter of the 15th July, 1559, to Sussex expressing her desire, amongst other things, that "MacCarthy Mor should be advanced to some degree of honor." On the 28th February, 1565, she sent an order to MacCarthy to repair into England to be present at the determination of the controversies between Ormond and Desmond. And we see shortly afterwards that Lord Justice Arnold applied to the Privy Council for repayment of 200 marks raised from merchants for "furnishing" the Earl of Desmond and the Lords MacCarthy Mor and O'Sullivan Beare, "now repairing to England under the conduct of the bearer Captain Nicholas Heron."

Finally, on the 2nd June, 1565, was issued an order of the Privy Council creating McCarthy Mor an Earl with the title of Earl of Clancar,[5] and Baron of Valencia. Soon afterwards, on the 27th of that month, the newly-created Earl wrote to the Earl of Leicester urging the latter to obtain for him from the Queen the following concessions: (1) A loan of £600 to be repaid

(5) Clancar and Clancarthy are really the same name; the former being a bad attempt at the Irish pronunciation of Clann Carthaigh. It has often been spelt "Glencar," but of course has no connection with the place so called in Kerry.

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in Ireland; (2) an annual fee out of the Exchequer, or a portion of land in the English Pale, as was customary in the case of newly-made Earls; (3) the Priory of Ballindreyth; (4) the office of Vice-Admiral along the coast of his territory; (5) the patronage of all promotions to spiritual offices, in his "owne County of Clancar," and (6) the post of High Sheriff "of his owne nation." Whether those favours or any of them were granted does not appear.

In about three years from the time of his ennoblement we find the Earl engaged in various lawless proceedings. On the 14th September, 1568, Lord Roche complained to the Lord Justice that the Earl of Clancar, accompanied by MacDonaky, O'Kyne, MacAuly, O'Donowe Mor, O'Sullivan Mor's son and heir, Edmond MacSweeney and others, had seized 1,500 kine, burnt 7,000 sheep, all his corn, and a great number of men, women and children, and he prayed for a commission to "hurt" the said Earl. In consequence of this, the Lord Justices, on the 20th September, 1568, sent an order to the Earl to at once make restitution for the "horrible excesses" reported, at the same time trusting that the reports were not wholly true. Other deeds of violence[6], during that and the following year, are also laid to his charge, and it is stated that, during that period he flung to the winds the new title of "Earl" conferred on him, taking offence at anyone who addressed him by it.

On the 26th September, 1569, Captain John Ward, writing to Secretary Cecil, reported the overthrow of James Fitzmaurice and McCarthy Mor, with 1,500 foot and 60 horse, by Captain Humfrey Gilbert. And the latter, on the 13th November, writing to the Lord Deputy, reported that MacCarthy Mor and MacDonogh, had sent letters of submission, and, falling on their

(6) Suffrein and his brethren from Kilmallock reporting, to the Lord Deputy, that the Earl of Clancar had attacked them, and forced them to purchase peace by payment of a ransom of £150 Irish, and agreement to dishonourable conditions prayed for redemption from this "Egipsiacall bondage." The Mayor and Corporation of Waterford also reported that MacCarthy and several others had spoiled their kine and garrons (horses), and had committed other excesses.

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knees, acknowledged their treasons. Again, on the 25th March, 1671, Thomas Lancaster, Archbishop of Armagh, in a letter to Burghley, reported that the Earl of Clancar "of his own mind" submitted to the Queen's mercy, before the Lord Deputy, and upon his knees in the Cathedral Church in Dublin.

In 1573 the Earl was one of seven leading Irishmen who were thanked, by the Queen, "for the readiness of their services against the rebels." Amongst them were also Sir Donogh McCarthy and Sir Cormac MacTeig. And further, on the 16th July, 1577, the Queen, in a letter to the Earl, thanked him for his "forwardness to do good service." After this, though still an object of suspicion, he does not appear to have been guilty of any serious deeds of violence.

As has been already stated, the Earl took sides with the English against the Geraldines. The hopeless struggle, maintained by the latter, terminated with the capture of Gerald, sixteenth Earl of Desmond, and his assassination at Glounageentha in 1583. This event, for a time, arrested the desolating contest in which the country had been so long engaged. The state of turbulence during the Desmond rebellion may be imagined from the following reference, by the Four Masters, to the death, in 1582, of Catherine, niece of the Earl of Clancar:

"Catherine, daughter of Teige, son of Donal, son of Cormac Ladbrach, the wife of MacMaurice of Kerry, died. She passed her last days upon the Lake of Lein Linfhiaclaigh moving from one island to another, in fear of the plunderers. She was interred in the Monastery of Oirbhealach."[7]

In his private character the Earl of Clancar does not show to advantage. He was by nature froward and reckless; and was a man of profligate and dissipated habits. It is needless to say that he was also a spendthrift, and his recklessness in this respect paved the way

(7) In some editions it is stated that "her funeral proceeded on Loch Lein Linfhiaclaigh, and her remains were conveyed from one island to another through fear of the plunderers."

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to the reverse of the family fortunes. Of this recklessness an idea may be formed from the fact that he mortgaged to Sir Valentine Brown for three sums of money aggregating £622 14s. 5d. lands[8] which were shortly afterwards estimated to be worth £1,000 a year; and that, too, with possession and receipt of the profits by the mortgagee. The litigation in connection with those mortgages, which came to an end in 1630, will be afterwards referred to.

There is at least one redeeming feature in the Earl's character, namely, that he was a poet of some merit. Such of his effusions as are extant are of a religious nature, and of course in the Irish language.

He died towards the close of the year 1596. The Four Masters record his demise as follows:

"MacCarthy Mor died, namely Donal, son of Donal, son of Cormac Ladhrach, son of Teige; and although he was called MacCarthy Mor, he had been honorably created Earl before that time by command of the sovereign of England. He left no male heir after him who would be appointed his successor, and only one daughter, who became the wife of the son of McCarthy Revach (or Reagh), namely Finghin, and all were of opinion that he was heir of that MacCarthy who died, namely Donal."

The Earl of Clancar married Honoria, daughter of his brother-in-law, James, fifteenth Earl of Desmond. By her he had two children, namely Teige Lord Valencia, who died s.p., and Elena (or Ellen), who married Florence MacCarthy Reagh.

In connection with the above sketch of the Earl of Clancar's life, the following statement of his possessions

(8) These were the lands of Coismang, Eoghanacht O'Donoghue, and Ballycarbery. The Chiefs of the first named territories sided with the Earl of Desmond, and perished during the war. Their estates were confiscated and given to Sir Valentine Brown. But MacCarthy Mor claimed both territories as being their paramount lord, and the Crown, in recognition of his services at least, if for no other reason, allowed his claim and ordered Brown to give up the lands. Not long afterwards the Earl mortgaged both territories, and also Ballycarbery which formed part of his demesne lands to Sir Valentine. (These particulars I gather from a very able paper entitled "The Lordship of McCarthy Mor" by Professor W. F. Butler, which appeared in the Journal of the Society of Antiquaries in the beginning of 1907.)

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will be of interest. It is taken from a Tract, sent in 1588, by Sir Warham St. Ledger, to the Lords of the Privy Council, when reporting the marriage of the Earl's daughter (the spelling being modernised):

"The Earl of Clancar, before Her Majesty created him Earl, was by inheritance McCarthy Mor, by the which among the Irish he was accounted the Chiefest in the province, as descended from them that, before they were subdued to the Crown of England, were the Kings of the greater part thereof; and at the time of his creation, and surrender of his former titles, he had, and ever since claimeth under his jurisdiction and dominion, fourteen several countries, besides some of less quantity; most of them possessed by such as have descended out of his house; from every of which he demandeth sundry duties and services; whereof many are abolished by Statute.

"The First is the Country of the MacDonogh (called Duhallow) which had within it three other Countries (O'Callaghan's Country, McAuliffe's Country, and O'Keeffe's Country). He claimeth, in these Countries, the Giving of the Rod to the Chief Lords at their first entry, who, by receiving a White Wand, at his hands, for which they are to pay him a certain duty, are thereby declared from henceforth to be Lords of those Countries. He claimeth also that they are to Rise Out[9] with him when he makes war; to maintain for him 27 Gallowglasses[10]; besides to find him, for a certain time, then he cometh to their countries.

"The Second—the Country of Muskerry, a very large Country, wherein 5 other Countries are contained; he claimeth of them Rising Out, the keeping of 30 Gallowglasses and finding of him for a certain time. The Lords of this Country, by taking Letters Patent of the Kings of England, have exempted themselves from him, as they affirm.

"The Third Country is O'Sullivan More's. It

(9) To call out all the fighting men for service.
(10) Heavy armed foot-soldiers.

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containeth 200 ploughlands. He claimeth there the Giving of the Rod, the finding of 50 Gallowglasses, Rising Out, and, in yearly spending, the value of £20.[11]

"The Fourth is the O'Sullivan Beare's Country, which containeth also 160 ploughlands; he claimeth there Rising Out, the finding of 50 Gallowglasses, the Giving of the Rod, and to the value of £40 a year in spending and refections.

"The Fifth is O'Donoghue More's Country. It containeth 45 ploughlands, and it is now all in the Earl's hands, by Her Majesty's gift.

"The Sixth is the Lord of Cosmaigne's[12] Country. It containeth 84 ploughlands. It is now all in the Earl's hands, by her Majesty's gift, or the most part thereof.

"The Seventh is the Lord of Kerslawnys's[13] Country, otherwise called Slught Cormac. It containeth 35 ploughlands, whereof some are in the Isle of Valencia. He claimeth there the Giving of the Rod, Rising Out, the finding of 40 Gallowglasses, and to the value of £40 a year in spending.

"The Eighth is the Country of (Mac) Gelecudde. It containeth 46 ploughlands. He claimeth there Rising Out, the Giving of the Rod, the finding of 30 Gallowglasses and to the value of £30 a year in spending.

"The Ninth is MacFynin's Country.[14] It containeth 28 ploughlands. He claimeth the Giving of the Rod, the finding of 15 Gallowglasses, Rising Out, and to the value of £24 yearly in spending.

"The Tenth is the Country of Clandonoroe. It containeth 24 ploughlands. He claimeth there Rising Out, and it is in the Earl's hands, by Her Majesty's gift.

"The Eleventh is the Country of O'Donoghue Glan. He hath there no other duty, but only 46 shillings and

(11) "Spending" i e the amount of fees and duties under various heads levied by MacCarthy Mor from the lords and freeholders under his jurisdiction.
(12) Coismainge i.e. beside the river Mang.
(13) CoisLeamhna i.e. beside the river Leamhain (or Laune).
(14) In Glenarought in the County Kerry.

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fourpence of yearly rent. It containeth 20 ploughlands.

"The Twelfth is the Country of Glan Dermond. It containeth 28 ploughlands. He claimeth Rising Out, the keeping of 16 Gallowglasses, and yearly spending of £40.

"The Thirteenth is Clan Lauras.[15] This Country containeth 32 ploughlands. It is all in the Earl's hands by Her Majesty's gift.

"The Fourteenth is the Country of Loughlegh,[16] or of Teignitowin. It containeth 32 ploughlands. The Earl claimeth it to be escheated unto him, for want of heirs right and legitimate.

"Moreover, the Earl hath, in Chief Rents issuing out of Barrett's Country, by the City of Cork £11 a year; out of Killaha Abbey £4 a year or thereabouts; out of Ballinskelligs yearly as much; out of certain Church land in Beare, the like sum. Besides he hath, in Demesne land, in the hundreds of Magonihy and Iveragh, about his castle of the Palace, his castle of Ballycarbery, Castle Lough, and the Abbey of Vriett (Muckross), three score ploughlands or thereabouts. In O'Sullivan Beare's Country, Muskerry, and Duhallow, or in Donoghue's Country, certain ploughlands; also in each of them demesne lands.

"All his lands and territories lie in the Counties of Desmond[17] and Cork, and some parts in the County of Kerry. The most part of his land is waste and uninhabited, which had grown partly by the calamities of the late wars, partly by the exactions that he hath used upon his tenants."

The most remarkable circumstance, following the Earl of Clancar's death, was the fact that there were so few claimants to succeed him in the dignity of Mac-

(15) In O'Sullivan Beare's country.
(16) The country about Lough Currane, or Waterville Lake.
(17) Up to 1606 the "County" of Desmond consisted of the baronies of Magonihy, Dunkerron and Iveragh, and the half barony of Glanerought. By an Inquisition held at Tralee, on 20th August of that year, those baronies were united to the "Countie Palatine of Kerrie lately escheated" and both counties were ordered to be known in future as the County of Kerry.

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Carthy Mor. His only legitimate child, Lady Elena, was of course ineligible. There were numerous members of the clan, of unquestionable pedigree, eligible to succeed under the law of Tanistry. And yet for this great prize there were only three serious candidates, i.e. Donal, "base son" of the Earl; Florence McCarthy Reagh, a younger son of the Chieftains of Carbery, and son-in-law of the Earl, and Dermot Mac Owen MacCarthy alias MacDonogh, Lord of Duhallow.[18] The first had the best title from the Irish point of view. Florence's claim qua son-in-law of the Earl was scarcely admissible; and, as a clansman, he belonged to the branch farthest removed from the main line. MacDonogh of Duhallow was nearly as far removed. There were numerous other gentlemen of the MacCarthys very much nearer the main line, many of them chiefs of important territories, who put in no claims.

The three candidates just mentioned were remarkable men in their day, and deserve more than a passing notice. We shall presently recount the leading incidents in the careers of the first two of them (namely Daniel the "base" son, and Florence the son-in-law of the Earl), and later on of the third, when dealing with the Lordship of Duhallow.

In the meantime it will be convenient to describe briefly the way in which the Earl's large possessions were disposed of. Soon after his death a Government Commission was appointed to make a survey of all his lands, lordships and revenues. The result was a very able and complete report, which is exhaustively dealt with in the paper by Professor Butler already alluded to. From this it appears that, as the Earl of Clancar died without male heirs, all the seignories, chief rents, spendings, etc., enjoyed by him were reserved for and went to the Crown. All claims of the Earl or of his son-in-law to lands in the Clan Donal Roe, Bere and Clan Dermod, etc., were passed to the Crown and

(18) O'Hart says that Cormac Mor Lord of Muscry (b. 1552 d. 1616) was also a candidate, and further that his grandson Donogh the first Earl of Clancarthy (b 1594 d. 1665) contested the right of Florence and Donal to the dignity.

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extinguished. As regards the demesne lands, some 20 ploughlands or thereabouts, estimated at seven quarters, were returned in the Survey as having been assigned to the Earl's natural son, Donal. The latter's claim was acknowledged by the Crown, and the lands were passed to him by Letters Patent of June, 1598. He received a fresh grant of the same lands from James I in 1605, with remainder to his reputed son Donal and his heis male.[19] As for the rest of the demesne lands, 29 ploughlands were returned in possession of the widowed Countess as her dower. All, or nearly all, of them passed, at her death, to her daughter Elena, and to the latter's husband Florence. King James I issued Letters Patent on 16th April in the fourth year of his reign, granting to Lady Elena or Ellen MacCarthy "without fine, part of the lands of the said Earl not yet in charge, and not 13 quarters of land in extent, to hold for life, with remainder to Teige MacCarthy, her son and heir apparent, and his heirs male, like remainder to her other three sons, Donal, Cormac, and Finghin, the reversion to remain on the Crown."

(This grant was probably in substitution of one of the 21st June, 1604, allowing her an annuity of £150 a year, which was in substitution of a previous one, by Queen Elizabeth, of £100 a year).

Florence had been already in possession of Castlelough and Muckross, with six ploughlands adjoining, which had been mortgaged to him by his father-in-law. Thus more than half of the demesne lands, with the castles of Pallis and Castlelough, passed ultimately to Florence MacCarthy, in right of his wife. Those estates passed, in due course, to his descendants, but they were confiscated during the Commonwealth.

Quite apart from the demesne lands above referred to were the lands of Coshmang, Eoghanacht-O'Donoghue and Ballycarbery, which had been mortgaged by the Earl of Clancar for sums of £421 1s. 2d., £121 13s. 3d.,

(19) This grant comprised the Castle and 7 ploughlands of Castle Lough, called Drumhoompar, Irrelagh Beg, Dromirark, Gortinebrien, Coolclogher, Ballyrusheen Listrim Dugher, Ardagh, Cahirnane, and Carrigphrehane, &c.

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and £80 respectively, or in all £622 14s. 5d. Florence MacCarthy, who, whilst in the Tower, devoted his time to the prosecution of suits connected with his property, spared no efforts for the redemption of the mortgaged estates. Yet not until 1630, or more than forty years from the date of the mortgages, was the contest ended. In that year was passed a decision that, upon payment of the said sum of £622 14s. 5d., by Florence to the heirs of the mortgagees, the said lands should be delivered to him (Florence or to his assigns, and that "due consideration be had of some recompense for the mesne profits for the time past." But this decree, for some cause or other, does not appear to have been carried into effect.

By a decree of the Court of Claims, made on the 28th July, 1663, the lands of Pallis, Muckross, Cahirnane, Castlelough, and several other denominations, which had been confiscated during the Commonwealth, were restored to Dame Sarah MacCarthy (otherwise MacDonnell, daughter of the Earl of Antrim), widow of the then late Daniel MacCarthy Mor, eldest son of Florence and Lady Ellen, and her (Dame Sarah's) eldest son Florence, inasmuch as the said Sarah, her late husband Daniel, and their son Florence had been adjudged to have been "Innocent Papists," and the said lands had been settled on the said Sarah and her issue, under the marriage settlement between her and her late husband Daniel, who had possessed those lands in fee.

(To be continued).

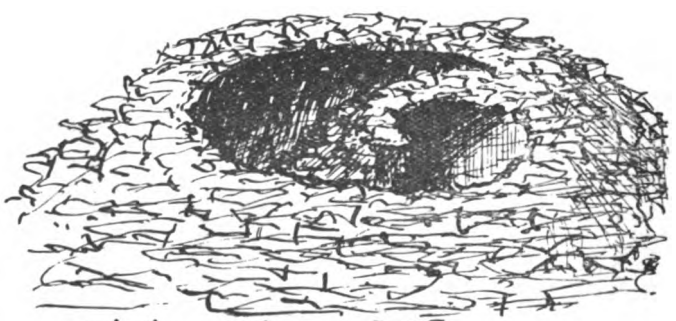


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Rath and Cloghane at Bally-hea-Bought.

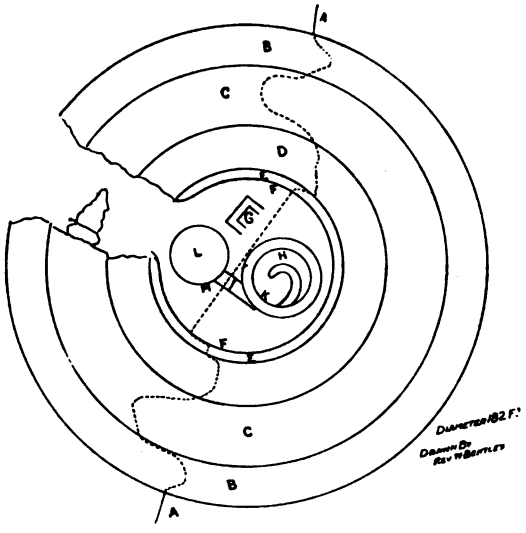
By the Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe.

WHEN driving from Dingle to Brandon Creek last summer, I observed, in a rath about 100 yards north of the road, and about three miles from Dingle, a stone structure, which I went to examine. It proved to be a Cloghane, but different from any other I had seen, inasmuch as there was a curved partition wall within the Cloghane. I do not know if there are other examples of this. As I was in a hurry at the time I had not full opportunity for making measurements. I therefore asked my friend, the Rev. W. E. Bentley, to come with me on another occasion, and he kindly did so and made measurements which I now send as well as a rough sketch I made of the Cloghane.



Bird's eye View of Cloghaun

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GROUND PLAN OF RATH.

A. Field level and contour line.

B. Bank, very largely built of stones and covered thinly with earth.

C. Fosse.

D. Bank sloping inwards.

E. Niche, and F. face of inside bank; both well faced with upright stone wall.

G. Square end of a building, probably a cell or oratory. (From this to H. much ruin).

H. Cell in fair preservation, with flying wing inside. At bottom of this, K, a low passage turns sharp to right and evidently connects with L. (foundation of another round house), whence it turns sharply to the left, issuing at M.

The wall over K is broken down and the large stones are left lying below. The apparent passage has been reduced to ruins, but its course is perfectly plain. The foundation stones of L are equally plain, but the rest has been removed, not thrown down. The ground generally slopes to the W.N.W. fairly evenly. The inner bank to the S. is in excellent preservation, but parts of the N. bank are not so good. On the north side of H an outlying foundation has been built to afford an elevated platform.

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Ballymacaquim Castle.

THIS striking ruin, which ought certainly to be included in the catalogue of Kerry castles, is situated in the parish of Killahan, Clanmaurice, a little more than four miles north-east of Ardfert village. Its name is taken from the townland in which it stands, 'Ballymacaquim' in the ordnance survey map, but on the name-board of the local creamery, which refers to a head office at '1 Baloon St., Manchester,' 'Ballymacquin.' Tradition is more scrupulous than either name-board or survey-map. I have heard a local farmer who did not know enough Gaelic to translate 'baile' or 'mac,' pronounce the name correctly, as it is given by Dr. Joyce, 'Baile-mhic-an-chaim,' the town-land, that is, of the crooked-fellow's son On the point whether it was a hunchback, a game leg or a squint eye that earned from his characteristically unsparing neighbours the epithet 'cam' for the commemorated proprietor's unfortunate father, Dr. Joyce declines an opinion.

The castle stands amid a wide, bare, boggy tract. Its square mass with projecting, horn-like chimney, is conspicuous for miles around. The only wood in the neighbourhood is a small grove of elm and ash, spoiled by the fierce Atlantic squalls, on the eastern side of the

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castle. In other days, before the district was disforested and drained, impenetrable wood and impassable bog may well have so secured—palisading and moating as it were—the stronghold, that no towering, isolated rock could have afforded a more advantageous site.

The one historical mention of Ballymacaquim castle that I have been able to find is referred to by Dr. Joyce and contained in the Annals of the Four Masters. It occurs under the date 1577, the year which opened with the massacre of Mullaghmast, and of which the winter was ushered in by that 'wonderful star in the south-east . . from which extended a long sloping tail in the form of a bow of effulgent brilliancy whose light illuminated the earth all around and the firmament above.' The passage referring to the castle is quoted entire, in the hope that one or other of the circumstances mentioned may stimulate members better provided with local records than the author, to discover some additional particulars. No thread is unimportant in the diverse and broken tangle of history: sometimes a tag of cotton will draw out a cord of gold. The poor young 'abbot O'Torna' whom the Earl left to bring up the rear, has been recognised by the acute parish priest of Ardfert as the Abbot of O'Dorney, a Cistercian Abbey of which the ruin may still be seen, two miles south-east of Ballymacaquim.

"A contention arose between the Earl of Desmond, i.e. Gerald the son of James, son of John, and Fitzmaurice of Kerry, namely Thomas, son of Edmond, son of Thomas, and the Earl took Bally-Mic-an-Chaim (in Kerry) from Fitzmaurice. The young abbot O'Torna having joined the Earl, was killed in the castle door of Lixnaw, by a ball shot after the earl had entered the castle, and had there been no other evil done between them than the death of that abbot, the loss would have been great enough. A great number of Fitzmaurice's people were killed and drowned the same day; they carried on this conflict for a considerable time, until at length they made peace, and Bally-Mac-an-Chaim, to-

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gether with his prisoners, were delivered up to Fitzmaurice, with an immense deal of kine and horses."

It is deplorable to be unable to furnish a single particular of either the erection or the destruction of this old Fitzmaurice castle. Unlike so many, it appears to have been a complete, and not a composite structure. Both the mason-work and the architecture suggest a date at least not much earlier than the year of the Four Masters' notice. The photograph, which distinctly shows how, while one half of the shell is practically intact, the other is shattered and demolished, will bear out the impression that the castle was destroyed by that kind of forced-suicide customary in war, the captors devoting the barrels of gun-powder they found in the cellars to blowing up the stronghold. Unless, indeed, some desperate defender, preferring to be blown to pieces rather than strung up by the victor's marshal, succeeded in doing what the dying Geoghegan so nearly did at Dunboy—thrusting a lighted torch into the undistinguishing explosive.

As I could detect no traces of annexed buildings, I conclude that the remaining walls preserve the dimensions of the structure as it stood complete. But in order to gain a clear and adequate idea of both the exterior and interior of one of our castles, it would be necessary to compare carefully several of our ruins of about the same date and of similar design. The ruin at Fenit is, I think, very similar to that at Ballymacaquim.

The castle was a square structure, 36 feet a side, fronting the cardinal points, the chimney being on the west. The height, by computation, for I neglected to take an angular measurement, is to the top of the chimney about 70 feet. The demolished south-eastern corner has been built up, probably of the original stone, in a lesser interior corner, provided with a door-way on the ground level. The large chamber, extending to the west wall, thus secured, is used by the farmer, James Behan—a rare name in Munster,—on whose land the castle is situated, and whose cow-sheds are built against

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its walls, as a dairy and store-room. Sometimes he lights a fire on the old hearth, to boil a cauldron of cow- or pig-food, and the blue smoke drifts up from the old chimney with effect hardly less surprising and weird than if in one of our museums, a pale breath were observed puffing from the bony nostrils of the skeleton of an Irish elk.

The number of stories is not easy to definitely determine, but I am inclined to think that, not counting the ground, there were four separate superimposed floors. In order to investigate the upper part of the castle you must either borrow the farm ladder—which is willingly lent—or scramble by means of the broken masonry up to the arched entry which appears on the extreme right of the photograph. The fragment of passage in which you find yourself turns immediately at right angles to the left, and is lighted by two small embrasures, the aperture-slit hardly more than a foot high, one of which shows in the photograph. A couple of paces brings you to a rectangular doorway, 5 feet in height, from the sill to the lintel flag; the massive stone jambs are perpendicular. This doorway gives into a passage 21 feet long, 5 feet wide and 6 feet in height to the pitch of the slightly-vaulted roof. In the left corner on entering, is a small rectangular recess in the masonry of the interior wall, at about 2½ feet from the ground. A little further along the passage, in the same wall is a similar but larger recess, of which the dimensions in inches are 13 x 22 x 24. It is not easy to conjecture the purpose of these—what one can only call 'cupboards,' unless fitted with some ingenious panel, they were intended for concealing, even when all was lost, objects of intrinsic or documents of potential value. From the further end of the passage ten shallow stone steps, lit by three more of the narrow embrasures, the lowermost in the passage, lead upwards and again to the left. From the stair you emerge through a rude aperture on the sole remaining floor, at about half the height of the castle walls, built of stone and carpeted with grass and weeds. Here the

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most attractive feature is the high, narrow embrasure in the five-foot thick north wall, measuring 5ft. 8ins. from the sill to the extreme concavity of the curved top, and 9ins. in width. The photograph, taken from the side, gives the impression of a lancet, but this is deceptive; the window arch is curved. In the angle of the embrasure are projecting stone seats. The prospect through such a stone-edged slit, out over such an open breezy country, with the hay in tanned cocks, and cattle grazing leisurely in the flower-choked July pastures, must needs be enchanting, even could it possibly be accompanied by the confident if undeterminate imagining of other eyes in other days wearying or consoling with the same far prospect, other unlike and yet like minds. In the south wall, and for the most part torn away by the breach, is the fragment of what seems to have been a large, wide-arched window,—strange though it appear for so confident a window to be placed just opposite to so mistrustful a slit.

An apparent fire-place opening into the chimney which is built out from the interior of the wall, and a large irregular breach to the left of the chimney—the reputed work of a cannon-ball 'shot from the sea'—five miles distant! but certainly the place of another large window, mark the position of what I take to be the third floor.

The floor above was under the steep roof, the slope and apex of which are marked by converging ridges with a surmounting boss, on the chimney, about six feet below the summit. Tht gallery round the roof was protected by a parapet, but whether crenellated or not there remains no indication. On the exterior of the west wall, at the roof level, is a row of some six stone spouts, and on the south side is left one.

Of local tradition concerning Baile-mhic-an-Chuim castle I have discovered very little. One incident, though apocryphal, modern and adventitious, I will repeat, in effect as I heard it, for the sake of the quick succession of diverse emotions, mirth, terror and thankful awe, which it implies. A party of lads and girls were

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exploring the ruin one summer's evening, and the suitability, or perhaps the contrary, of the place suggesting a dance on the lofty grass-grown floor, to it they fell untroubled by the want of a fiddle, and scared the jackdaws in the crannies with their mirth. But presently one of the lads, whether innocently or not, using his partner somewhat roughly, she took alarm and fled, he after her, across the floor, and climbing and scrambling up the rough stepless wall in ever wilder terror, unaware that her pursuer had now, at all events, no other thought than to save her, to the very summit of the wall, from which, without an instant's hesitation, she leaped. Was it by natural or superstitious means? did her approving patron saint, or did her petticoats retard her fall? Anyhow, when they came in anguish to find her dead, they found her alive and uninjured.

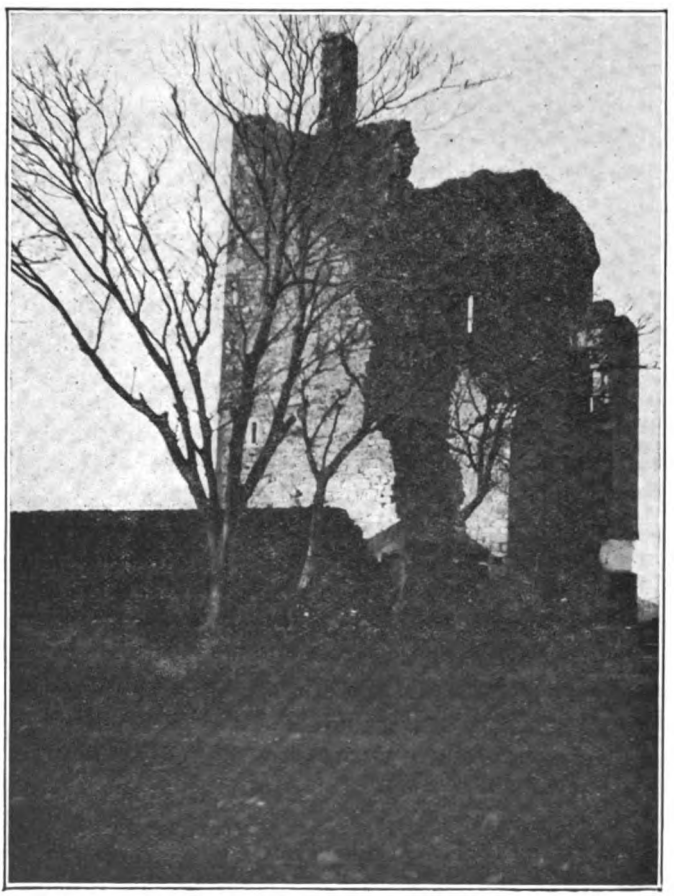
I cannot persuade myself that science or poetry, however contrary they may be, ought either, seeing that the reason and the imagination are both faculties of every mind, to be intolerant of the other. Indeed, the archæology which is content to classify and does not attempt to vivify, appears to me a dreary enough business. In the wish to encourage members to aim at securing not only the accurate measurements, but what they will find far more difficult and laborious, the true significance of the places they visit, whether or not they are able to master a means of artistic expression, I venture to conclude this notice, the deficiencies of which are, I hope, as obvious as they ought to be when the aim is to inform and not to impose upon, to stimulate and not to satisfy, with a couple of stanzas from a poem suggested by the ruin of Ballymacaquim castle, viewed in savage harmony with its winter surroundings.

There stand I, an aged donjon,
 Massive, fractured, solitary, dark;
For the leaping leven to lounge on
 And the hail to spatter and spark,
And for the sinewy wind to whirl my stature stony and stark,

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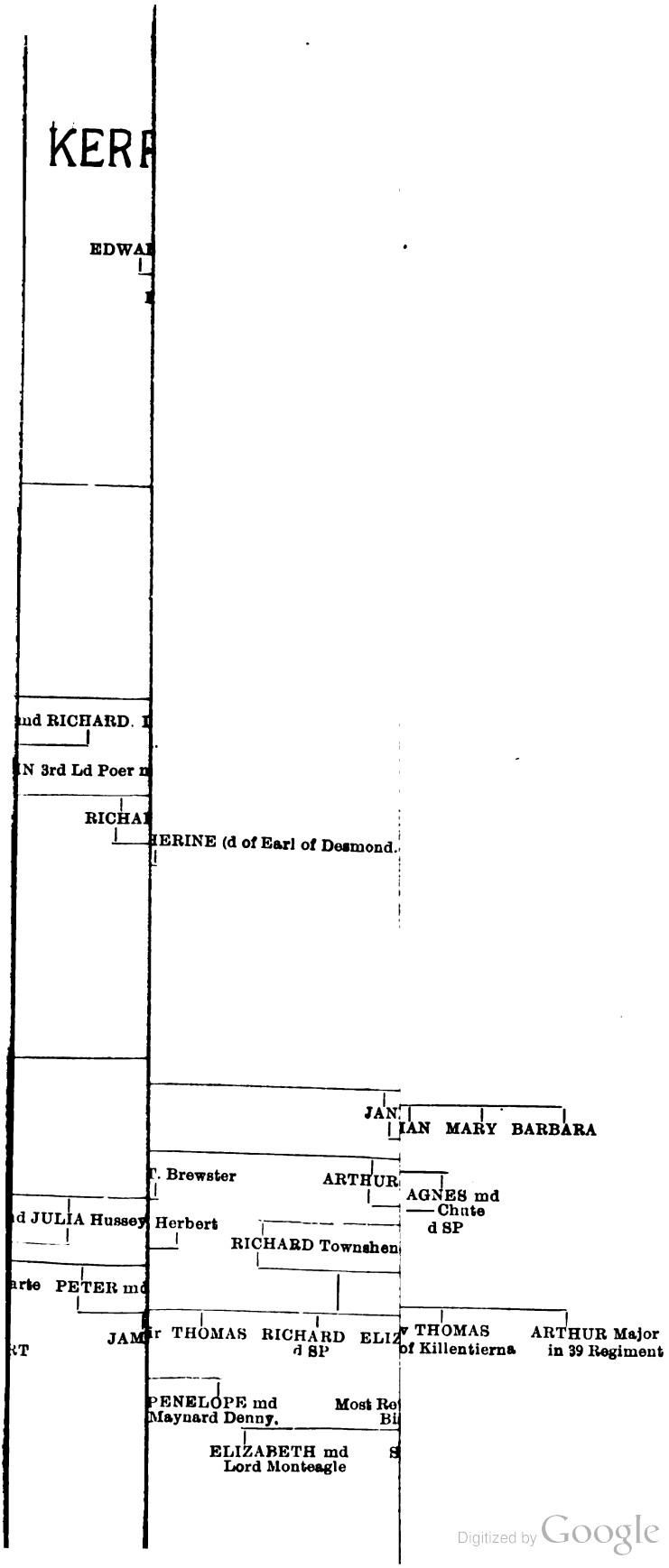
I was born of the bog's bowels blind,
And my scowl is the scowl of the sky,
And my walls are arc-buttressed with wind
And dark-dyed in the darkness dark dye;
And for waste o'er the waste do I watch, for the watchman of wasting am I.

BLIGH TALBOT-CROSBIE (Associate).



BALLYMACAQUIM CASTLE.

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Inquisition of 1584.

(Concluded from Page 226).

ALSO the said Jurors on their solemn oaths say that there are in the said County of Kerry three cantreds, viz—one cantred called Trughenackmye, another Corkogwyne, and Krybryoonaghe and Cantlon,[1] and that the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion was seized as of fee to him and the heirs male legitimate of his body of an annual rent of eighty cows and a hundred and sixty marks out of those cantreds. And also that he had the duties of Coyne, Livery, Kearnetoon, Musteroon and other Irish exactions of that kind at his free will from the said three cantreds. And they say that no money rent or cows was required from the said three cantreds while they were waste, uncultivated and uninhabited. And they say that the aforesaid cantred of Trughenackmye contained in itself [. . .] carucates of land chargeable with the payment of the aforesaid money rent and cows, viz—portions of a Knight's Fee [. . ..]

Of Colosoghtie eight carucates of land and 6 carucates of free land;

Eskeangilleye eight carucates and four carucates of free land;

(1) Creacht Browneh and Cantillon i.e. the territory of Browne and Captillon, afterwards Clanmaurice.

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The Ploughlandes eight carucates;

Of Pronnsville[2] and MacDanyell eight carucates and two carucates of free land;

Of Lemarcahill[3] 6 carucates of land;

Of MacElligott 12 carucates of land;

Of Currens 10 carucates;

Of Tullygarron[4] 9 carucates;

Of Ballybeggan 12 carucates;

Near Slemishe[5] 15 carucates;

Of Broke 7 carucates;

Of Kyrrieghe[6] 8 carucates;

Of Knockenaghe 8 carucates;

Of Glandyerrye 8 carucates;

Of Ballyheye[7] 8 carucates;

Of Anagh 8 carucates;

Of Raverrye 8 carucates;

Of Cloghan [. . .] and Dirremor containing [. . .];

Of Annagh, Ballinvirinsye, Corgroaghe, Balligoule, 8 carucates;

Of Ballinehawe[8] 8 carucates;

Of Killvallilahive[8] and of Glaunegalte[8] eight carucates;

Of Ballinvoher 18 carucates;

Of Glanehawe[9] 8 carucates;

Of Stradbally 8 carucates;

Of Castlegregorie 4 carucates;

Of Morreregan[10] 4 carucates;

Of Tirewryne[11] and Galligaell 4 carucates

And also they say that the cantred of Corkognynye contains [. . .] carucates of land which are

(2) Pronnsville i.e. Prendiville.
(3) Le Mariscal, old owners of Castleisland. Ballymariscal is marked on the old map of the seigniory. See note 3 on page 215 No. IV.
(4) i.e. Chute Hall.
(5) i.e. Slievemishe.
(6) i.e. Kerries.
(7) i.e. Ballyheigue.
(8) All these places are in the Castlegregory district.
(9) Later this was held by Lord Glandore from Lord Cork. Robert Hickson, grandfather of the late Robert Conway Hickson of Fermoyle, purchased both lease and head rent.
(10) i.e. Brandon Lodge
(11) i.e. Tierbrin.

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subject to the payment of the aforesaid money rent and cows, that is to say the lands following:—the portion or Knight's Fee of Hussey [. . .] Ballintarremont[12] containing 80 acres;

Brackloon[12] containing 20 acres;

Knockneclasshie[12] 20 acres;

Ardrynan[12] 20 acres;

Gorte in Kerran[12] 60 acres;

Coomduffe[12] 120 acres;

Durrah[12] [. . .] 120 acres;

And also the portion or Knight's Fee of Brownoge, viz—Ballineshere 4 carucates;

Ballinwronnock and Maimengarran 4 carucates;

And also the portion or Knight's Fee of Downtygerod, viz Downetygerrod 2 carucates of land;

Londroghes[13] land 4 carucates;

Kinarde Hierraghe 2 carucates.

And the portion or Knight's Fee of Quarters, viz, Gowlande 2 carucates;

Goolbowe 2 carucates;

Gloncor [. . .] 2 carucates;

Carrn 2 carucates.

And in the portion or Knight's Fee of Monagh which are extended[14] viz, Ardmore and Ballingarran 4 carucates;

Lisdorega 2 carucates;

Rynboye 1 carucate;

Ballinixtinnye 1 free carucate.

And the portion or Knight's Fee of Mahownies qui [. . .] viz, Ballinwhittye, Farrenistmaye and Ballentagirde containing 80 acres;

Garrynaghe 80 acres [. . .]

And in the portion or Knight's Fee of Feren-shes-hiragh which was extended viz:

(12) All situated in the district of Aunascaul. Redcliff House built by S. M. Hickson, stands on Brackloon, and the village of Aunascaul or Ardrynane. They were at this time forfeited by Maurice Hussey of Gortenkorrane. See note 46.

(13) i.e. Lander's land. The old Norman name of Launders or De Launders is preserved in Keelgarrylander.

(14) i.e. Surveyed.

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Ballenvuenghrige one carucate;
Ballymore 3 carucates;
Fanebeallodaghe one carucate;
Fane Iraghe and Farentynkin 2 carucates;
Clohir and Tyrehan[15] one carucate;

And in the portion or Knight's fee of Dounkyn([16]), which was surveyed viz:

Dounekyen[16] four carucates;
Dounurlinge [. . .] carucates
Farrenlatiff[17] and Ardincanny[17] two carucates, of which Peter Rice has 20 acres in mortgage for 13 shillings and 4 pence, half face money;

And in the portion or Knight's Fee of Trante which has been surveyed, viz:

Cowlokorkeran containing six carucates;
Rahynaghe[18] one carucate;
Hemlaghskarren[19] one carucate;

And in the portion or Knight's Fee of Marine[20] which has been surveyed, viz:

Imellan 2 carucates;
Killnegolman one carucate;
Ballinea one carucate;

Marrin containing 2 carucates chargeable and two free belonging to the Knight of Kerry.

And in the portion or Knight's Fee of Cahirbosinny,[21] viz:

Lattymore and Lattybeg[22] 4 carucates;
Cahirbosynny[21] and Knocknebotaghe 4 carucates;

And in the portion or Knight's Fee of Moneyre[22] which have been surveyed, viz:

(15) Teeravane in the parish of Dunurlin, called in the Survey Tyroan.
(16) Dunquin. "The entire parish of Dunquin was divided in 1641 between Lord Broghill, two persons "named Rice" and one Nagle. The three latter were turned out and their possessions granted to the Countess of "Mountrath." (W. M. Hennessy).
(17) Both near Smerwick. "Ardincanny seems modernized form Ard-na-caithne or "the height of the Arbutus" (W. M. Hennessy.)
(18) i.e. Rahinane. Parish of Ventry.
(19) There were three denominations of land called Imlagh in Corkaguiny, I—Imlagh in the Parish of Ballinvoher. II—Imlagh or Imlaghfadden in the parish of Marhen; and III—Imlagh in the parish of Dingle. Imlagh or Emlagh means "a marsh."
(20) i.e. Marhin.
(21) i.e. Caherboshina in the Parish of Kildrum.
(22) Moneree according to the Survey "The King's more or Heath more." Joyce says "Which the people say was so called from the fact that in the beginning of the last century turf was cut in this townland which was then a bog for the use of the barrack of Dingle." (Irish Names and Places. Vol. II. chap. 6). This however would not account for its being called Monaree in 1584.—Ed.

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Moneyre[22] containing four carucates demised to Peter Rice for 40 shillings half face money

Ballymorrye 2 carucates of chargeable land and 1 carucate of free belonging to the Knight

Of Balleamyn[23] containing one carucate of land.

And also in the portion or Knight's Fee of Pollenkylla which have been surveyed, viz:

Hymlaghfaddye containing 2 carucates;

Conghe [] lyn 1 carucate;

Caherdoregan[24] 1 carucate;

Rinchonill[25] 1 carucate;

Leam Ellen[26] containing 1 carucate;

Kareman Ballenegall and Ballavicgowe containing 2 carucates.

And also in the portion or Knight's Fee of Coltoigh which has been surveyed, viz:

Colteigh 4 carucates;

Fehonagh 2 carucates;

Ballycomyn with other hamlets adjacent to the same 2 carucates.

Also they say on their solemn oath that the said Gerald, late Earl of Desmond at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion was seized in his fee and right, viz: to himself and the lawful heirs male of his body, of the nominations, presentations, advowsons [. . .] of the following Parish Churches in the said County of Kerry, viz:

Of the Presentation to the Rectorship of the Parish of the Island[27];

Of the Presentation to the Rectorship of the Parish of Killintyerrye[28]

Of the Presentation to the Rectorship of the Parish of Clogherwryne

(23) Described in the Survey as "One parcel of land called Ballyamyn na-mne-boughty alias the Poor Woman's town," in the Parish of Dingle containing 20 acres.

(24) Caherdorgan in the Parish of Kilmalkedar.

(25) Reenconnell, in 1641 this was owned by Maurice Fitzgerald of Castleishin, but in 1674 was granted to the Countess of Mountrath. It is in the Parish of Kilmalkedar.

(26) Called "Leamelim," in the Survey. Possibly Leamirlea in Kilmalkedar Parish.

(27) i.e. Castleisland.

(28) i.e. Killentierna.

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Of the Presentation to the Rectorship of the Parish Church of Kynarde

And of the Presentation to the Rectorship of the Parish of Killury.

Also they say that Iraght-I-Conogher was held of the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond by Knight's service and that the last O'Connogher who held it died so seised of it, and that John O'Connogher[29] is his heir and aged 16 years.

Also they say that Thomas Hussey was seised in his Lordship as of fee of certain lands in the parish of Ballynacorteye with their appurtenances which he held of the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond by Knight's service, and that he died so seised and that Maurice Fitz Thomas Husseye is his heir and aged eighteen years.

Also they say that Thomas Londreye was seised in his Lordship as of fee of certain lands in the Parish of Killnynarde[30] which he held of the late Gerald Earl of Desmond by Knight's service and that being so seised he died and that Garret Mac Thomas Londreye is his heir and aged sixteen years.

Also they say that Edmund Ferretur ought to have been in the wardship or guardianship of the said late Earl, because the said Edmund's father held his lands in the Parishes of Downalie, Downcorlyn[31] and Downkyen[31] of the said late Earl by Knight's service which said Edmund is of the age of sixteen years.

Also they say on their solemn oath that Thomas Fitz David Gerald late of Ardnegraghe [32] in the said County of Kerry, gentleman, on the second of November in the twenty-first year of our said Lady the Queen entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl

(29) This was John "na-Cathac," or of the conflicts, son of Conor O'Connor He was a near relation of Florence McCarthy Mor.

(30) i.e. Kinard.

(31) i.e. Dunurlin and Dunquin.

(32) Ardnegragh (the height of the plunders) was the principal Castle of that branch of the Desmond FitzGeralds, known in history as the "Aicme" or Sept., or "Clonn in-triucha, the clan of the Cantred. From these two designations comes "Trucha-an-aicme,"—now the name of the Barony of Trughenackmy. The site of the Castle and the "Pike," of Ardnegragh are pointed out in the the townland of Cordal East and Parish of Ballincashlane. (W. M. Hennessy).

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of Desmond, and that being in the rebellion aforesaid on the sixth of November in the twenty-fourth year of our said Lady the Queen, he was killed near Cosseleye in the said County of Kerry, and that at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion he was seised in his Lordship as of fee in the castle, townlands, tenements and hereditaments of Ardnegraghe aforesaid with their appurtenances in the said County. de Killy with its appurtenances in the said county, and of a certain Knight's fee called Keangwilleye[33] with its appurtenances containing 12 carucates of land in the said county, and of a certain portion of another Knight's fee called Lodonaghe containing 8 carucates of land in the said county.

Also they say that Maurice Fitz John Fitz Garret, late of Killneneghe[34] aforesaid entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and that being in rebellion against our said Lady the Queen, he died being then seised in his lordship as of fee of a residue of Killynear[35] which the said Thomas Fitz David Gerald had possessed.

Also they say that Tiegue Mac Dermod MacCormac MacCartye late of Malahive[36] aforesaid, gentleman, on the second of November in the twenty-first year of our said Lady the Queen entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond aforesaid against our said Lady the Queen, and that being in rebellion on the twelfth of June in the twenty-second year of her reign he was killed in rebellion near Aghadoe[37], and that at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of the castle, town, lands and

(33) i.e. Cangullia near Castleisland.
(34) Called in the Survey "The Church and town of Killyaghna. Possibly the parish of Killahan in Clanmaurice where there are the ruins of an old Church.
(35) Most likely Killaneare near Milltown.
(36) i e. Molahiffe
(37) A battle seems to have taken place at Aghadoe in the year 1581, when the Earl of Desmond, who was encamped there, was surprised by Captain Zouch, who had been sent by Elizabeth to govern the County. Desmond was defeated and forced to retire to County Limerick. It is probably in this action that Teigue McCarthy was killed.

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tenements of Malahyve aforesaid with their appurtenances.

Also they say upon their solemn oath that Rory O'Donoghue alias O'Donoghue More late of Rossdonoghue in the County of Kerry aforesaid, gentleman, on the tenth of June in the twenty-third year of our Sovereign Lady the Queen aforesaid and on other days and years before and after treasonably associated himself with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond in his aforesaid rebellion against our said Lady the Queen, and continuing in such rebellion, on the twentieth of August in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of our said Lady the Queen, was killed near Carberye and that the said Rorye O'Donoghue alias O'Donoghue Moore at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion was seised in his chief lordship of all castles and lands to the same name of O'Donoghue Moore belonging or pertaining, in the said County of Kerry; the extent of which the said jurors are ignorant of.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that Ulick Mac Thomas Eligot late of Carrignefeileye[38] in the said County of Kerry, gentleman, on the second day of November in the twenty-first year of our said Lady the Queen, and many other dates before and after the said date associated himself traitorously with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond in his said rebellion against our said Lady the Queen; that at the time of his entering into rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of the castle, town, lands and tenements of Carrignafeyle aforesaid with their appurtenances. And that afterwards he submitted himself and was pardoned according to the proclamation of our said Lady the Queen but that after the said pardon he again entered into rebellion against our said Lady the Queen.

(38) There were three Castles in the Parish of BallyMcElligott belonging to the McEligotts, Carrignafeela, Arabella and Bernagrillagh. Very little now remains of any of them. In 1613 the lands of this Ulick McEligott were granted to Sir T. Roper. In 1756 Smith mentions Carrignafeela as a "place of some note" and the residence of a Mr Vernon. It was at one time a seat of the Dennys. The Castle and house have both disappeared and the land is the property of Mr J. C. Hurley.

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Also they say that Conogher O'Dalye of Kiltarcon[39] in the said County of Kerry, gentleman, entered into rebellion against our said Lady the Queen with Gerald the said late Earl of Desmond; and that at the time of his entering into the said rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Kiltarcon aforesaid with its appurtenances containing seven carucates of land.

Also they say on their solemn oath that Galfredus[40] mac Teigue O'Donoghue in Glanny de Glanfleske entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond; and that at the time of his entering into the said rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Glanflesk with its appurtenances.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that John Oge Maurice[41] late of Killenoraghe[42] in the said County of Kerry, gentleman, on the second day of November in the twenty-third year of our said Lady the Queen and divers other days before and after the said date, joined himself in rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond in rebellion against our said Lady the Queen, and being in and continuing in such rebellion was killed on the twelfth of July in the twenty-fourth year of our said Lady the Queen near Killenoraghe in the County of Kerry aforesaid; and that at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his being killed in rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Killenoraghe aforesaid with its appurtenances, Liskahane[43] with its appurtenances, Ballinclemiseye[44] with its appurtenances, Ballimacklin with its appurtenances, Kepacloghe[45] with its appurtenances, Glanegealte[45] with its appurtenances in the said County.

(39) Probably Kilsarkon, some five miles South East of Castleisland.
(40) Called in the Survey Geoffrey MacTeigue alias O'Donoghue in Glana. Glenflesk or Killaha was the residence of O'Donoghue of the Glens, ancestor of the present O'Donoghue. Not to be confused with The O'Donoghue Ross. A good part of the old castle is still standing.
(41) This John Oge Maurice appears to have been one of the FitzMaurices, called in several old records and pedigrees "of Kilfenora and Tanist of the Barons of Lixnawe." (M. A. Hickson).
(42) i.e. Kilfenora near Fenit.
(43) Liscahane in the Parish of Ardfert.
(44) Ballinclemesig in Ballyheigue Parish.
(45) Both in Kilgobbin Parish.

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Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that Maurice Fitz John Hussey of Glangorteenkorrane[46] in the said county, gentleman, entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond against our said Lady the Queen; and that continuing in such rebellion on the eleventh of September in the twenty-third year of our said Lady the Queen, he died; and that at the time of his death in rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Glangortenkorran aforesaid containing six carucates of land with their appurtenances and 20 acres of land with their appurtenances called Farren Edell, and of a certain portion of the town and land called Coomduffe in the Knight's fee of Hussey aforesaid, in the said county; and that at the time of his entering into rebellion and that at the time of his death in rebellion he was seised as of right and fee of the presentation of the advowson or appointment of the Parish Church of Ballenecourtye in the said county.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that John Hussey late of Ballenecourtye in the said County gentleman on the second of November in the twenty-first year of our said Lady the Queen entered into the treasons and rebellion of the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond; and being so associated in the rebellion of the said Gerald on the 14th day of January in the twenty-second year of our said Lady the Queen was killed near Killenye[47] in the said county, and that at the time of his death in rebellion, he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Ballenecourtye aforesaid with the appurtenances of Gortynenenaffryne with its appurtenances, of Rathkyvyn with its appurtenances, and of the fourth part of the valley called Glan-logheskan[48] with its appurtenances in the said county.

(46) Called earlier Gortenkorrane. Up to the time of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church there were about 10 acres of Glebe land on this townland, which confirms the identity.

(47) i.e. Killiney. This happened during Ormond's raid, of which Smith says—"They (Ormond and his forces) marched towards Dingle, driving all the people of Corkaguinny before them. in this "expedition they took 8000 cows, besides sheep and horses, slew many people and would have killed several more had not Sir William who was in Ventry Harbour"..... granted many of them protection,

(48) i.e. Valley of Loughanskall or Loughescail.

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Also they say that John[49] Mac Edmond Mac Ulick late of Ballyno[50] in the said county, gentleman, entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond against our said Lady the Queen, and that being in rebellion and a traitor he was taken prisoner and hanged by the neck until he was dead; and that at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his being hanged in rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Ballinea[50] aforesaid containing 40 acres with their appurtenances at Aeglishne-menardye[51] containing one carucate of land with its appurtenances, and one quarter called Downkyne containing two carucates with their appurtenances in the said county.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that Nicholas mac Shane Piers alias Mac Shane de Clanmorres in the said County of Kerry entered into rebellion against our Lady the Queen, and thus being in rebellion died being then seised in his lordship as of fee, of certain lands in Clanmorres aforesaid.

Also they say that David Duffe Gerald entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and being in rebellion on the twelfth of June in the 23rd year of our said Lady the Queen was killed at Aghadoe in the said County of Kerry, and that he was then seised in his lordship as of fee of one tenement in the town of Dingle in the said County of Kerry on which Thomas Moore had a mortgage of fifteen shillings sterling.

Also they say that James Hussey Fitz John entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and that being in rebellion on the 14th day of November, in the 22nd year of our said Lady the Queen, he was killed at Ardart[52] in the said county, and that he was then seised in his lordship as of fee of one house with

(49) This John FitzUlick or MacUlick was attainted, and executed in the City of Limerick.

(50) Ballynoe or Ballina, said in the Survey to be in the Parish of Marhin, now called Ballineanig.

(51) Called in the Survey "An Englishe-Nemenarde alias Emelia English", no doubt Eaglais-an-Inuleach i.e. the Church of the Marsh.

(52) i.e. Ardfert

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its appurtenances and four acres of land in the town of Dingle aforsaid.

Also the jurors on their sacred oath say that James Russell, late of Dingle, in the said county of Kerry, entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and being in such rebellion died; and that at the time of his said death in rebellion, he was seised in his lordship as of fee of a house with a garden in the said town of Dingle, which house and garden Richard Trant claimed to have a mortgage upon of fifteen pounds sterling by feoffment of the said James before he entered into the said rebellion.

Also they say that Dominick Roa Fitz Maurice, late of Dingle, in said county of Kerry, entered into rebellion with the aforesaid Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and that as a rebel he now exists in Spain; and that at the time of his entering into rebellion he was seised as of fee of two tenements and one garden in the said town of Dingle, and that James Trant is seised of a chief rent of 3 shillings and 4 pence out of one of the two tenements.

Also the said jurors say on their solemn oath that Thomas Fitz William Bwye,[53] late of Dingle aforesaid, entered into rebellion with the said late Earl of Desmond, and that so continuing he was killed in the said rebellion; and that at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his being killed in rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of one tenement and garden in the town of Dingle aforesaid.

Also the said jurors say on their sacred oath that Thomas Browne, late of Newtown[54], in the said county of Kerry, entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and that being in rebellion on the 10th of June, in the 23rd year of our said Lady the Queen was killed, and that at the time of his entering into rebellion and at the time of his death in rebellion he was seised in his lordship as of fee of Knoppoge

(53) Called in the Survey "Bowy" but supposed by Miss M. A. Hickson, to have been a corruption of "Buie" or yellow.
(54) Modern Ballynoe—Parish of Killury.

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with its appurtenances and divers lands in the Cantred of Brown and Cantlon.

Also they say that the late Religious House of the Friars of Dominic in Tralee contained besides the site and precincts of the same in Lordship lands 12 acres within the Borough of the town of Tralee of a certain 12 acres of land called Ballyvellan[55] and a certain garden and tenements adjacent to the same; and a house with 2 acres of arable land near the town of Dingle also belonging and appertaining to the said religious house;

Also that the twentieth part of all corn of what soever kind or sort growing or harvested from time to time in all and singular.

The lands of Mannernoa[56] containing 4 carucates with their appurtenances in the said county;

In the lands of Countesse's Castle containing 20 acres with their appurtenances in the said county;

In the lands and manor of Tralee containing 12 carucates with their appurtenances in the said county;

In the lands of Tawlaght containing 6 carucates of land with their appurtenances in the said county;

In the lands of Barrowe and Knockenage[57] containing 2 carucates of land with their appurtenances in the said county;

In the lands of Kilvallylahiffe[57] containing 80 acres of land in the said county;

In the lands of Kilnecleragh containing 40 acres of land with their appurtenances in the said county;

In the lands called the Park of Dingle containing 5 acres of land with their appurtenances in the said county;

In the lands of Ballyhee[58] containing 80 acres with their appurtenances in the said county;

(55) Ballyvelly; described in the Survey as "A parcel of the best land for meadow or pasture lying in the Parish of Tralee on the west side of the town, called Ballyvoyelan alias Ballylevalaen."

(56) Manor noe i.e. Newtown. Now divided into Manor East and Manor West.

(57) Now Knockanush (Cnoc-an-eis) or the hill of the deer. Parish of Ballynahaglish.

(58) Ballyhea in the Parish of Dingle. Now Ballyheabought, called in the Survey "Ballyhe alias the Countesses lands."

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In the lands of Monenrye[59] containing 4 carucates of land with their appurtenances in the said county;

And in the Manor of the Island aforesaid with its appurtenances containing eight carucates of land;— belonged and appertained to the said late Religious House in Tralee which late Religious House with its appurtenances (which he and his predecessors unjustly detained and concealed) is our Lady the Queen's.

Also they say that the late Religious House of Ardart[60] with certain gardens appertaining to the same belong to our said Lady the Queen, and are unjustly detained and concealed from her.

Also they say that Ulick Mac Thomas Eligott was seised in his lordship as of fee of the castle, town, lands and tenements of Karrignefeylye with their appurtenances, and of a certain portion of one Knight's fee, and that while he was so seised of the said lands he entered into rebellion with the late Gerald Earl of Desmond against our said Lady the Queen.

Also they say that Nicholas Fenn entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmand and that he is the heir and possessor of the Castle, town, lands, tenements and hereditaments of Ballenikeartye with their appurtenances.

Also they say that Thomas mac Ellistrum was seised in his fee and lordship of certain lands in the borough of Tralee and that being so seised he entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond.

Also they say that Katherine O'Haretan is the daughter and heir of [. . .] O'Haretan[61] of Tralee who was seised in his Lordship as of fee of certain

59) Monaree. See Note 22.

(60) Ardfert, described in the Survey thus: "The site and house of the late Friars of Ardarte is pleasantly situated on the river Shiez within two miles of the Harbour of Fyanett.....On account of the foresaid rebellion, as well the said town as the Cathedral Church there is nearly prostrated and devastated. And there is another Church there in a ruin, but repairable with little cost, adjacent to the said late house. The circuit and precinct of the said house, with the Church and Cemetery contain about three acres of land, and there also belong, and are likewise adjacent to the said house, 20 gardens and divers small crofts severally enclosed with a stone wall, now nearly destroyed. And further in the fields of the said borough or town, there is belonging to the said house a large close of land enclosed by a mud wall still well protected, containing 20 acres of land.

(61) Some 70 years ago there were people of this name still in Tralee.

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lands in Tralee aforesaid and who being so seised entered into rebellion with the late Gerald Earl of Desmond.

Also they say that John Prendeville was seised in his lordship as of fee of a certain portion of the Knight's fee of Prendeville and Mac Danyell[62] and that being so seised he entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and also that the said John at the time of his entering into rebellion aforesaid was seised in his lordship as of fee of Dysert with its appurtenances in the said County of Kerry.

Also they say that John Fuller[63] alias Bowler of Bowlerstowne in the said County of Kerry, gentleman, was seized in his lordship as of fee of Fullerstowne aforesaid, containing 3 carucates of land with their appurtenances, and that being so seised he entered into rebellion with the aforesaid Gerald late Earl of Desmond against our Lady the Queen.

Also they say that Thomas fitz David Ballaghe Gerald, David oge fitz David Gerald, Maurice fitz David Gerald and others entered into rebellion with the said late Gerald Earl of Desmond and that they were then seised in their lordship as of fee of a certain portion of the Knight's fee of Keangillye and of a certain portion of one carucate of land called Gortglasse in the said County Kerry.

Also the said jurors on their solemn oath say that Nicholas alias Mac Edmund of Stradballye in the County of Kerry was seised in his lordship as of fee of the town, lands, tenements and hereditaments of Stradballye aforesaid with their appurtenances in the said County of Kerry, and of a certain portion of Kiltanee[64] and of a certain portion of Glanehoe[65] and of one carucate of land in the Knight's portion of

(62) BallymacDaniel (now Ballymacdonnell) in Killeentierna parish was called after one of the McCarthy Family, who at one time owned the greater part of this parish. (W. M. Hennessy.) The Survey then says that this land which was then "filled with underwood," devolved to the said Earl for default of heirs of the said Daniel. This property was granted to Messrs Champion & Stone on condition that they should build a hospital in New Ross. They do not seem to have fulfilled the condition, but sold the property to the first Earl of Cork, in whose family it has since remained.

(63) Fuller alias Bowler. The F and B interchangeable in Irish—(M.A.H.

(64) In the Parish of Currans.

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ploughlands in the Cantred of Trughenacmy, and that being so seised he entered into rebellion with Gerald the late Earl of Desmond against our Lady the Queen.

Also they say that Thomas Baron of Lixnaw, Patrick Fitz Maurice, Edmund Fitz Maurice, Robert Fitz Maurice and Gerald Fitz Maurice his sons entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond against our said Lady the Queen, but of their lands the jurors are ignorant.

Also the said jurors say that all the gentlemen and freeholders of the Cantred of Clanmaurice except John mac Thomas of Ballykealey,[66] John oge of Ballyvicinkyn[67], and Gerald Duffe Stack, — took arms against our said Lady the Queen; and that entering into rebellion they remained in rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond.

And besides the jurors say that Edmund oge mac Clymmette of the said Barony of Clanmaurice was in rebellion with the said Earl; and that he was then seised and is now seised of certain mines called Alommyne in Downyne in the said Barony of Clanmaurice.

Also they say that Gerald mac Richard of Glanhowye in the said County of Kerry, gentleman, entered into rebellion with the said Gerald late Earl of Desmond, and was then seised in his lordship as of fee of certain lands of Glanhowrye and of other lands in the said county.

Also they say that Caher mac Bryan[68] son and heir of Mac Murrough[68] was seised in his lordship as of fee of Cloghan and its appurtenances and of other lands in Traly . . . and that being so seised he entered into rebellion with Gerald late Earl of Desmond.

Also they say that Patrick mac Shane of [. .] was seised in his Lordship as of fee of the middle

(65) Two townlands are called Glenahoo; in Stradbally and Ballyduff parishes.
(66) Smith says "Ballykealy was an ancient Castle of the FitzMaurices and gave title of Baron to a younger branch of that family.
(67) Possibly the Ballymacquin described by Mr Talbot-Crosbie.
(68) Miss M. A. Hickson says that these were O'Connors.

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lands of [. . .] and also of Ballinahunt with its appurtenances and of a portion of Glanehoe with its appurtenances, and that being so seised he entered into rebellion with Gerald late Earl of Desmond against our said Lady the Queen.

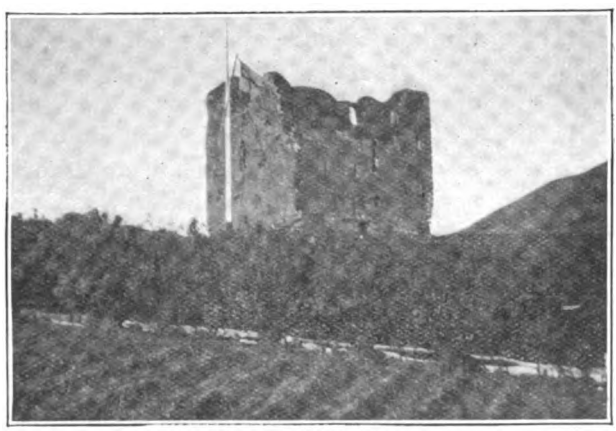
Also they say that Mac Edell associated himself with James fitz Maurice Gerald[69] and aided and abetted in bringing the foreigners to Ireland.

Also they say that the Rector of the Parish Church of the Island for the time being, owed to the said Gerald and his ancestors [. . .] two refections yearly.

Also they say that John Browne of Kerybrowne and Maurice Browne entered into rebellion against our said Lady the Queen, but of the extent of their lands they (the jurors) are ignorant.

[. . .] the said Commissioners and jurors here set their hand in the day and month and year and at the place above mentioned.

(69) James FitzMaurice Gerald. This was "the Arch traitor," as he was called. Though usually mentioned as "James FitzMaurice" he was a FitzGerald and a first cousin of the Earl and was so called to distinguish him from James the Earl of Desmond's brother. It was he who went to Italy and Spain to arrange for an invasion of Ireland and brought the Spaniards to Smerwick.



MINARD CASTLE.

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List of Newspapers, Pamphlets, &c.

PRINTED IN THE TOWN OF TRALEE FROM EARLIEST DATE TO 1820.

ABOUT four years ago I contributed to a Kerry newspaper a short article, and list, as far as I then knew it, of printing in Tralee from the earliest date I could get (1774) down to about the year 1850. Since then I have come across seven additional items of printing in Tralee, all copies of newspapers or names of newspapers, and so I think it is not out of place to repeat the earlier portion of my former list, namely down to the year 1820, with the additional six items within that period since gained, because they will help to show the position of printing in Kerry during that period, as of course every additional item does. I therefore, with two or three corrections, repeat what appeared in the "Kerry Evening Star" down to 1813, introducing the additional items in their proper chronological order. The result of this is to confirm some of the conjectures I had made, and which were based upon very meagre information. For instance, it is now evident that the

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Kerry Journal was in existence in March, 1782, and therefore probably had been in existence some time previously, and confirms the item under "1780." Taking the "Kerry Evening Post" as the earliest Tralee newspaper, then I think it is clear that the "Kerry Journal" was the second newspaper there. The third was the "Kerry Chronicle" (see 1784). This is now confirmed by the existence of a copy of the "Kerry Chronicle and Tralee Advertiser," Vol. VII., extant in the University Library, Cambridge, in the Bulletin of the Henry Bradshaw Collection in that famous Library. I am indebted, as will be seen, for four of the items of Tralee printing prior to 1820 to the kindness of Mr. Charles Sayle, of that library, who gave me particulars of same.

We also come across a fourth Tralee paper, "The Western Mercury, or Kerry Herald," of which no particulars had before been given. It will be seen from the list that it commenced in March, 1793.

One new item in this list is the number of the "Kerry Evening Post" under date 1793. Here arises a remarkable question. It will be seen that the extant copy is numbered 25 of Vol. V. If that is correct, there must have been either two "Kerry Evening Posts," one commencing in 1774, according to Madden and Cotton, or else Madden and Cotton are wrong and the "Kerry Evening Post" was *not* the first Tralee paper. This interesting point might very well be handled by some readers of this Journal who may be able to throw fresh light on it. It was by no means an unknown thing to start a journal, which subsequently failed and afterwards was revived again.

Again we confirm the existence of "Chute's Western Herald" by the evidence quoted under date 1797. It is worth remarking here that very often allusions are made to local papers in various works of the period, which are useful in supplementing gaps and confirming supplementary evidence as to provincial presses.

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Another new Kerry newspaper is that appearing in 1807. I am very much inclined to think that "McCartie" is another form of McCarthy, who was a printer at Tralee in 1799.

Under the year 1813 the "Kerry Evening Post" occurs again, and the Volume is there given as XXXVIII. If the date on that volume is correct, then the "Kerry Evening Post" began in 1775, or at all events it shows that this newspaper was commenced before 1780, and therefore the allegation under that date cannot be correct. I commend to the readers of this Journal these bibliographical puzzles, and invite kind assistance in clearing them up, and also in supplying additional items for this list.

E. R. McC DIX.

1774. The Kerry Evening Post. Twice weekly.
[Vide Madden, Irish Periodical Literature, vol. II., p. 242; Cotton, Typographical Gazetteer, 2nd series (Omissa); Layton's Handy Newspaper List.]

1776. Note—Taking a volume as equal to a year, this journal would have started in 1775, as an issue of 1813 is included in Vol. 38. (See 1813, but see now 1793 below).

1780. This is also given as about the date of the founding of the "Kerry Post" by Dr. Busteed, who is said to have bought up "The Kerry Journal," a still older paper, from Mr. James Graves.
[Vide Miss Cusack's History of Kerry.]

1782. March. The Kerry Journal.
[Vide Wilson's "Collection of Resolutions of the Volunteers," etc., Dublin, 1782.]

1783. The Kerry Chronicle, etc., began this year.
[Vide next item.]

1790. October 5th. The Kerry Chronicle and Tralee Advertiser. Tuesday. Vol. VII. No. 81.

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Fol. 4 columns to a page. (F. McCartie).
[University Library, Cambridge. Hib. I. 785. 1[90].]

1784. July 28th. The Kerry Chronicle.
Note—There was an issue of this journal on this date, vide cutting of a letter to the printer of it from John Markham in a volume of cuttings in the Library of the Chief Secretary, Dublin Castle, but the place of printing is not given; probably it was printed in Tralee.

1793. March 20th. The Kerry Evening Post. Vol. V.* No. 25. Friday. Fol. 4 columns to a page (John Busteed).
[University Library, Cambridge, Hib. 1, 785,/78.]
*Qr. XV. (indistinct).

1793. March 26th. The Western Mercury, or Kerry Herald. Vol. I, No. 2. Tuesday. 4 columns to a page. (G. Chute and F. McCartie).
[University Library, Cambridge.]

1793 or 1794. Chute's Western Herald.
Note—This newspaper most probably began in either of these years, assuming that each volume comprised one year, which seems to have been the case.
[Vide infra 1805 and 1813.]

1797. December 22nd. Chute's Western Herald. Friday.
[Vide extract from it, printed in "Historical Record of Royal Tyrone Fusilier Regiment," p.p. 99, Omagh, 1872.]

(1799?) (Florence McCarthy).
[Vide list of subscribers in D. R. O'Connor's Works, (Cork), about this date.]

1800. Chute's Western Herald.
Note—If a year's issue formed two volumes, then this newspaper began in this year.
[Vide infra 1805.]

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Also see 1797 supra.

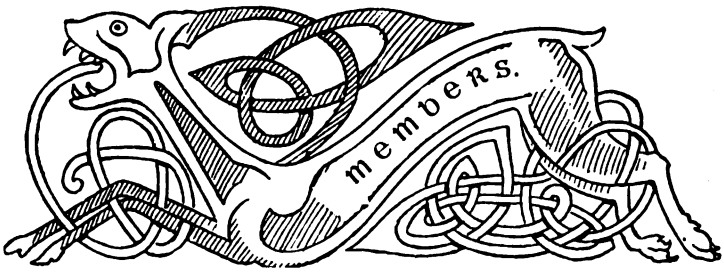
1805. March 26th. Chute's Western Herald. Vol. XII, No. 25, 4 pp. of 4 cols. each. Tuesday. Price 5d.
[Trinity College, Dublin, in a volume of old newspapers.]
N.B.—There is no imprint.
Query—Began in 1793 or 1800 (?)

1807. McCartie's Kerry Dispatch. No. 13. Tuesday, February 17th. Fol. 4 columns to a page.
[University Library, Cambridge, Hib. 1, 785, 113.]
N.B.—Printer not given.

1812. Chute's Western Herald or Kerry Advertiser, Vol. XIX, No. 1900. Thursday. "Price fivepence." 4 pp. of 4 cols. each. (Printed for the proprietor, P. Chute, at the "Western Herald" Office).
[British Museum, Newspapers.]

1813. The Kerry Evening Post. Vol. 38. Monday. "Price fivepence." (John Busteed and Sons). 4 pp. of 4 columns each.
[British Museum, Newspapers.]
N.B.—No number is given.

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The Editor will be obliged if members or other friends who know of any Holy Wells in Kerry will send her a list of them, with the date on which the "Pattern" is held at each, and any information about them which can be obtained. She will be especially grateful for any photographs or sketches.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Will members and associates kindly notice that their annual subscriptions are due in July, and any that have not been paid this year should be sent at once to the Hon. Treasurer, Miss Palmer, Dunkerron, Kenmare, not to the Secretary.

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Kerry Archæological Magazine.

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FITZMAURICE LORD KERRY

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Pillar from Doorway at Aghadoe.

MCARTHY MOR

FITZGERALD KNIGHT OF KERRY

Contents

	PAGE
S. H. Butcher, by C. W. Prothero	291
Clann Carthaigh (continued), by S. T. McCarthy	320
Megalithic Structures near Gallerus, by Dr. Windle, F.R.S., etc.	339
Dolmen in Killaha, by the Bishop of Limerick and P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A.I.	342
Some Kerry Fairies, by Lady Gordon ...	347
Civil Survey of Clonmorris ...	357
Account of General Meeting	369
Notes and Queries	378
List of Members	380

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Dolmen in Killaha, by the Bishop of Limerick and P. J. Lynch, M.R.I.A.I.	342
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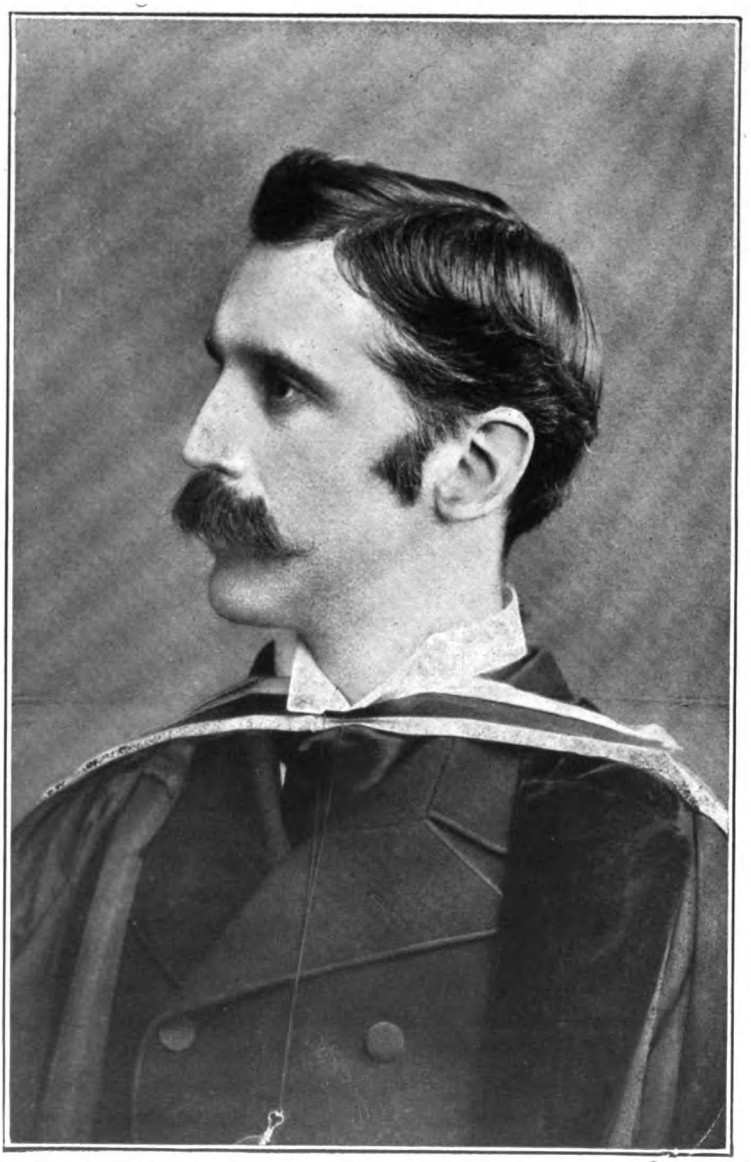
	PAGE
S. H. Butcher, by C. W. Prothero	291
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Notes and Queries	376
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THE LATE S. H. BUTCHER, M.P.

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SAMUEL HENRY BUTCHER.

WHEN the country has the misfortune to lose one of its most distinguished citizens, there is generally no lack of public testimonies to his abilities and virtues. But these eulogies not unfrequently are, more or less, of a perfunctory character; they give evidence of respect rather than affection; they betray no sense of personal loss. Such was not the case with the numerous utterances called forth by the death of Henry Butcher, whether we look at those spoken by public men or published in the newspapers, or at the resolutions passed by public bodies and learned societies, or finally at the private letters of sympathy which, in so great a number, his family have received. In all these there breathes a spirit of affection as well as of admiration, a sense of private as well as of public loss, a feeling of personal regard and attachment. This is the case even with men who knew him only in a public capacity, or had met him only once or twice; and such expressions must seem wonderful or perhaps excessive to strangers, but will strike no friend of his with surprise. For, whatever success he attained in learning and in affairs, however remarkable were his achievements in the field of litera-

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ture and scholarship, however wide is the gap which his departure leaves in academical and political circles, the man was still better than his work; and those who came under the immediate spell of his brilliant, frank, and sympathetic nature, the glance of his eye, the charm of his conversation, in short, of all the potent attraction of his personality, felt that there was something in him which only his actual presence could convey. In the County of Kerry, and especially in the neighbourhood of Killarney, where he delighted to live, and where he was known and loved, it is unnecessary to say more about this aspect of his character; but, as circumstances prevented him from spending much time at Danesfort, or indeed in Ireland at all, some record of his life may not be unwelcome to those who are not acquainted with his manifold activities and wider experience.

Samuel Henry Butcher was the eldest son of Samuel, late Bishop of Meath, and Mary Leahy, a member of a well-known Kerry family.* He was born on April 16th, 1850. His father had just become Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Trinity College, Dublin. But, like many other distinguished members of that great institution, Dr. Butcher's intellectual interests and attainments were not confined to one department of learning. He was not only a historian and a divine, but also an accomplished classical scholar and mathematician. In 1852 he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity, and two years later accepted, in lieu of his fellowship, the college living of Ballymoney, in County Cork, which he held for twelve years. Henry Butcher's early years were therefore spent in Dublin, where the family occupied a house in Fitzwilliam Square, or at Ballymoney, the summer sojourns in which were a great delight to all concerned. When Dr. Butcher became Bishop of Meath in 1866, the family moved to the episcopal residence, Ardbraccan House, near Navan, on the woody banks of the Boyne. For the next ten years, till his father's

* To avoid misconceptions, I should say that I have drawn largely on an obituary notice which I contributed to the "Times" for Dec. 30, 1910.

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death in 1876, this was the boy's home; and there he grew up, with his younger brother, John George, now M.P. for York, and his four sisters, the eldest of whom became Lady Monteagle in 1875. He threw himself with zest into the pleasures of country life, and became a keen rider and a good horseman. Never was there a family of which the members, both older and younger, were more closely and unreservedly united by the ties of mutual affection and respect. But of that happy band of eight there now remain but two.

Without passing through the usual preliminary stage of a private school, Butcher went in 1864 to Marlborough. When he entered the school, he was beyond the age for a "Junior" scholarship, but in the following year he made up for this by winning the first of the "Senior" scholarships. His brother, J. G., who went to school with him, obtained a "Junior" scholarship at entrance. Henry's upward progress was rapid; and in the first term of his promotion to the Lower Sixth, he performed an unprecedented feat in winning the Brown Prize for classics over the heads of all his seniors in the Upper Sixth. He also carried off the prizes for Greek Iambics, Latin and Greek prose, English Translation, Divinity, etc., and became ultimately Senior Prefect, or captain of the school. His head-master, Dr. Bradley, afterwards Dean of Westminster, and a former pupil of the great Dr. Arnold at Rugby, was one of the best teachers of the day. In later life, Butcher would often recall the debt he owed to Bradley's teaching, and the stimulus of his "inspired invective." At the same time he threw himself actively into the school-games, and became captain of the Football Twenty, and a very fair cricketer.

Successful as he was, his school-fellows accepted his pre-eminence without jealousy, and he won on all sides affection and respect. His old house-master, Mr. F. E. Thompson, writes of him: "I have never heard him spoken of by any old Marlburian—and I have known numbers of them—but with admiration and esteem."

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A contemporary says that he was entirely without "side" or boastfulness, and recalls an incident which is revealing for his character. "I say, Butcher," said a boy friend one day, "lend me a shilling." "Sorry I can't," was the reply. "Before I left home I promised my father I would never spend or lend my last shilling, and I have only one left till allowances are paid." Not many boys would have had the moral courage to refuse. In 1869 he finished his school career by winning an open scholarship for classics at Trinity College, Cambridge, but he never lost touch of his old school. He visited it from time to time, sometimes to give a lecture or an address, sometimes to take part in the Prize-Day celebrations. He was on the Council from 1896 onward, and served actively on committees. Sir Courtney Ilbert, in sending a message of condolence from the Council of Marlborough College, on the occasion of his death, writes: "Despite the many and heavy claims upon his time, he was a regular attendant at our meetings. He was the most trusted and beloved of our counsellors, and his advice was eagerly sought. His assistance was promptly and effectively given; his opinions carried the greatest weight in our deliberations; and we regarded him as our representative in all matters of general educational policy."

In this connection, says the present Head-Master, Dr. Fletcher, "his wide experience and keen affection for Marlborough made him invaluable. He had the faculty for giving the final turn to a discussion by the charm of his personality and the scholarly precision of his language."

When, in the autumn of 1869, he went up to Cambridge, he soon found himself the centre of a remarkable group of friends. Among these were Edmund Gurney, in some respects the most brilliant man of his day, who died young, having made himself a name in connection with psychical research; T. O. Harding, a Senior Wrangler who added wide reading and culture to his

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mathematics, and who also died young; A. W. Verrall, the translator of Euripides and now Professor of English Literature at Cambridge; James Ward, now Professor of Psychology; F. W. Maitland, afterwards Professor of English Law and the greatest legist of our time; Francis Balfour, who became Professor of Embryology while still in his youth, and died by a fall in the Alps in 1882; and his younger brother Gerald, afterwards Chief Secretary and President of the Board of Trade. Several of these were members of a small club, somewhat cumbrously named the "Cambridge Conversazione Society," but better known under the pithier title of "The Apostles," the members of which met weekly, in each other's rooms, to discuss some subject of a philosophical, literary, or political nature. To this club, now not far from a century old, and always containing the pick of the younger intellect at Cambridge, Butcher was soon elected. He was thus brought into contact with older men, former members of the club, such as Henry Sidgwick, Professor of Moral Science; R. C. Jebb, afterwards Professor of Greek at Glasgow, and subsequently M.P. for Cambridge University; Henry Jackson, then a tutor of Trinity, now Professor of Greek; Arthur James Balfour; Sir Frederick Pollock; James Stuart, the founder of the University Extension system, and afterwards Professor of Engineering; J. F. Moulton, now a Judge; and other men who have made a name in various walks of life. One of his most intimate friends recalls the fact that, in this intellectual society, the "general tone of which inclined to the materialistic side," Butcher was "decidedly more orthodox than the majority." He had even, continues his friend, some idea of taking orders; and, if this intention was subsequently abandoned, it was not on account of any theological difficulties.

Keen politician as he was in later days, Butcher took no part in the discussions at the Union, the undergraduates' debating society and club. Nor did he play games; a dislocated shoulder, due to a fall out hunting,

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and constantly liable (at this period of his life) to go out again on slight provocation, prevented such pleasures. All the more precious were the companionship of his friends, and the studies which came next in his affections. He read diligently and constantly, but in a tense and concentrated fashion, according to his nature; therefore not for long hours, or in such a way as to interfere with what is the best part of University education, the society and converse of congenial spirits. He speedily came to be regarded as the scholar of greatest promise since Jebb—another Irishman. In his first year he won the Bell Scholarship; in 1871 he carried off the Waddington (University) Scholarship, and in 1871 and 1872 the Powis Medal for Latin Verse. In 1873 he graduated as Senior Classic, i.e., the first man of his year in the Classical Tripos, and gained a Chancellor's Medal. It was a great triumph; for either of his two chief competitors—Verrall and Page—who were bracketed next to him in the Tripos, would have made a good Senior Classic in an ordinary year. A year later he was elected to a Fellowship at Trinity.

For a little while after taking his degree, he occupied a post as an assistant master at Eton. The authorities would have been glad enough to keep him, but the life of a schoolmaster was not to his taste. To anyone with a taste for teaching and for boy-life, Eton offers the most tempting attractions—beautiful old buildings, a noble river, wide playing-fields studded with "immemorial elms," the glamour of ancient tradition and prestige, and—what is not to be scoffed at—a high rate of pay; but, fond as he always was of the society of the young, Butcher could not resign himself to spending his life in elementary and unprogressive work. After a year's trial, he gave up his post, and returned to Cambridge, to lecture at his own college, Trinity. There he might well have remained, at least for some time, had not an event occurred to sever the connection. In 1875 he became engaged to Rose, the youngest daughter of Archbishop Trench. Cambridge was still

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under its old statutes, not reformed till 1882; and marriage was incompatible with the holding of a fellowship. The difficulty was solved by his old head-master, Dr. Bradley, who had recently passed from Marlborough to the mastership of University College, Oxford. University was fortunate in possessing certain fellowships, the holders of which might marry without surrendering their emoluments, provided that they were engaged in college work. One of these falling vacant, Dr. Bradley offered it to Butcher, together with the post of tutor and lecturer of the college. The offer was accepted, and Butcher shifted his quarters to the sister-university. In 1876 he married, and for the next six years he remained at Oxford.

His life there was happy but uneventful. His teaching rapidly made its mark. His scholarship, at once brilliant and solid, his enthusiasm for the classics, his interest in the matter as well as in the language of his authors, made his lectures both attractive and profitable. With many of his puils he made permanent friendships, as with J. W. Mackail (recently Professor of Poetry at Oxford), Cecil Spring-Rice (now Minister at Stockholm), Clinton Dawkins, and others. With the introduction of married fellows and the beginning of women's university education, Oxford society was undergoing a great change. Some have doubted whether the irruption of women, in the form of pupils or wives—and the former phase occasionally leads to the latter—has been an unmixed blessing to the older Universities. The common-rooms have certainly suffered; weaker spirits have some times been seduced by frivolities. But academical society has certainly become livelier and more humane; and not a few brilliant men have continued to make Oxford and Cambridge their home, who would have found university life intolerable under the old monastic restrictions. However this may be, Butcher's house in Bradmore Road, graced at it was not only by his own personality, but by the presence of its charming mistress, soon became a centre of the younger

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Oxford society. Louis Nettleship, the philosopher, a unique and beautiful character, who lost his life on Mont Blanc in 1891; Andrew Bradley, afterwards Profesor of Literature at Liverpool and Glasgow; Strachan Davidson, now Master of Balliol; P. F. Willert, of Exeter, and other men of distinction among the younger unmarried "dons" were habitués of the house. Alfred (now Lord) Milner and Andrew Lang frequently visited them from London. The Creightons, the Henry Pelhams, the Humphrey Wards, the Arthur Johnsons, the Arthur Aclands, were some of their nearest married friends; and the ties of intimacy then formed were broken only by death.

In other respects it was a stirring time at Oxford. University reform was the chief subject of discussion. A Conservative Government, at the instance of Lord Salisbury, appointed, in 1877, Commissioners to consider the question in both Universities. Their work was chiefly concerned with matters touching the University at large, and its relations with the colleges within it; but the colleges themselves were busy in drawing up their own statutes, and every hall and common-room echoed with the discussion of difficult questions in the solution of which every member of the academic community was intimately concerned. In these discussions Butcher does not seem to have taken a very prominent part; the fact that he was a Cambridge man, only recently imported from the banks of Cam, must have placed him at some disadvantage; but the long debates doubtless familiarised him with the details of University organisation, and stood him in good stead when he was called upon, later, to take a share in the reform of the Scottish and Irish universities. In the promotion of women's education—a matter in which Oxford was then following the lead given by Cambridge in Girton and Newnham Colleges—Butcher was also interested. He was honorary secretary to the Council of the Association for the Education of Women in Oxford from 1879 to 1882; and long afterwards, when he came to live in

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London, he was a Governor of Bedford College for women.

It was during his residence at Oxford that Butcher began to distinguish himself as an author. In 1879 he published, with Mr. Andrew Lang, a prose translation of the Odyssey, which was immediately welcomed as the most perfect and satisfactory reproduction of the original which had yet appeared. A prose translation of a great poem must always suffer by the loss of the rhythm and melody which are essential to poetry; in particular, it cannot render "the roll and thunder of the Odyssey." But, on the other hand, a translation in prose can be far more accurate than one in verse can be; while the latter, however rhythmical and melodious, can hardly reproduce, and will therefore in most cases obscure, the rhythm and melody of the original. In any case, whatever may be said for or against a prose translation of poetry, it will be universally recognised that, as a prose translation, the work of Butcher and Lang could hardly be, and certainly has not been, excelled. It combines great literary charm with delicate feeling for the subtleties of Greek, and displays consummate mastery of the two languages. As such, it contributed largely to the revival of interest in Greek language and literature which has been so notable in the last thirty years.

Two years later, Butcher's study of Greek rhetoric —a department of his subject for which he seemed to have a special affinity—resulted in the production of an admirable little book on Demosthenes, the greatest of the Greek orators. Published as a volume in the "Classical Writers Series," this work gives, within a very short compass, all that is best worth knowing about Demosthenes—the political and other conditions of his day, the circumstances in which the several speeches were delivered, the peculiar methods and excellences of his oratory. Though primarily intended for young students, its ripe scholarship and original views make it valuable to readers of any age.

In 1882 the Professorship of Greek in the University

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of Edinburgh fell vacant through the resignation of Profesor Blackie, better known as a Scot, a poet, and an eccentric than as a Grecian. The works which Butcher had already produced, and his growing reputation as a teacher and a scholar, procured him this distinguished appointment, in spite of strong local opposition on behalf of a northern candidate. As a Southron, imported into the Athens of the North, he had at first to encounter some prejudices; but the charm of his character and the ability of his lectures soon overcame all obstacles. The Greek class, which, under his predecessor, had been allowed to get sadly out of hand, was speedily reduced to order; a new spirit was introduced, and the whole subject raised to a higher level. Within a few years, Butcher had gained such a position in the University that, when the Scottish Universities Bill became law (1889), and a Commission was nominated to draw up new statutes and reform the whole academical system, he, though not a Scotsman and but recently appointed a Professor, was chosen out of the whole professorial body as its sole representative on the Commission. Among his colleagues were Lord Kinnear (Chairman), Lord Elgin, Lord Kelvin, Lord Kyllachy, Sir Charles Dalrymple, and Sir Henry Roscoe. The amount of work which this appointment involved may be inferred from the fact that the Commission held no less than 251 meetings, from October 1889 to December 1897; that it issued its first Ordinance in 1891 and its last in 1898; and that its General Report was not issued till April 1900, nearly eleven years after its creation.

> "His colleagues on the Commission (says a distinguished member of the University) greatly profited by his advice in connection not only with questions touching the general culture and training of students aiming at the Degree in Arts, but also with those concerning Degrees in other Faculties. . . . The experience which Professor Butcher had gained since his appointment to the Chair of Greek was of great service to the Commissioners,

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and assisted them materially in putting their ordinances into practical shape."

The work of this Commission, which was an executive, and not merely (as usual) an advisory body, was peculiarly difficult and onerous, for two reasons. In the first place, it was called upon to draw up not only what in a southern university would be called statutes, i.e., those fundamental laws which cannot be altered without the intervention of the State, but also Ordinances, i.e. the regulations as to examinations and other matters of detail which, in England, a university makes for itself and may alter without interference from outside. In the second place, the constitutions of all the four Scottish Universities had to be harmonised, and, as far as possible, made identical, so that one University should not—for instance, by lowering the standard of its degree —gain an advantage over another. It is no wonder then that this was a very laborious task, lasting, indeed, no less than eleven years, during which, of course, Butcher had to carry on simultaneously his regular professorial work.

At Edinburgh as at Oxford, Butcher made it his business to become personally acquainted with his pupils, at least with the members of his Honours class—a practice which, usual as it is in the English universities, had been but little known in those of the North. The hospitality which he dispensed consumed much time; but the friendly relations between teacher and pupils thus set up contributed no little to the success of his teaching, and were in themselves an education as well as a delight to the younger members of the University. In Edinburgh society at large, his house in Palmerston Place soon became a centre of attraction, gathering to itself all that was best and brightest in the academical and professional life of the Scottish capital; and that, as all who know Edinburgh will avow, is as pleasant and stimulating a society as is to be found within the four seas. In all this, Butcher was greatly helped by the charm and conversational powers of his wife, who, Irish

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like himself, seemed to feel a certain kinship in the Celtic North, even in the Lowlands, which the Irishman cannot feel on English soil. Among their closest friends at Edinburgh were Professor and Mrs. William Sellar; and Mrs. Sellar's charming "Recollections" contain many references to their intimacy. Sellar was Professor of Latin, and was as much in love with that subject as Butcher was with Greek. The furtherance of classical study was the common ground on which they met; and this alliance brought them together in many ways. Sellar learnt to regard his younger colleague with deep affection, as a sort of son, while relying on him for counsel and support in all academical affairs. As Mrs. Sellar says: "In Mr. Butcher he found the perfect sympathy and understanding he had enjoyed in the old Oxford days, and which till now he had thought could never come again, and in Mrs. Butcher the grace and charm and sweet consideration that brightened his social life."

When Sellar died, in 1890, Butcher, in conjunction with another friend and former pupil, J. W. Mackail, saw the old Professor's last book, "Horace and the Elegiac Poets," through the press. To the "Scotsman" (Oct, 14, 1890) Butcher contributed an obituary notice of Prof. Sellar which Sir R. Jebb described as "admirable in every respect." "It would be impossible (he said) to describe more justly his characteristics as a man, or the qualities which distinguished his scholarship."

It was during his residence in Edinburgh that Butcher was first drawn into active connection with politics; and it is characteristic of him that his first intervention was due to a cause which touched him personally as an Irishman. This was the question of Home Rule, which became acute about three years after he settled in the North. He threw himself at once with decision and energy into the conflict, taking a leading share in the organisation of the Unionist party in Edinburgh, speaking at public meetings, and otherwise helping to avert what he considered, throughout his life,

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to be a grave danger to the State. When, six years later, the danger recurred, with Mr. Gladstone's return to power in 1892, he was active in promoting the candidature of his friend Lord Wolmer (now Lord Selborne), who sat for West Edinburgh from 1892 to 1895. In these conflicts he first showed his capacity for politics, and at once tested and improved his gift of oratory on other themes and with other audiences than those to which he had hitherto, in his lecture-room, been accustomed.

Meanwhile, in spite of those various avocations, his pen was not idle. In 1891 he published a volume of Essays and Addresses on "Some Aspects of the Greek Genius," mostly written or delivered during the nine years of his residence in Edinburgh. These papers do not lay claim to the merit of deep learning or what is generally known as original research, but they are the fruit of ripe scholarship, much study, and sympathetic insight; and they specially aim at setting forth, in a lucid and attractive manner, the nature of the Greek mind, in some of its most characteristic and important aspects. The first of these addresses tells us in general terms, as was fitting in an Inaugural Lecture, "What we owe to Greece."

> "To Greece we owe the love of Science, the love of Art, the love of Freedom; not Science alone, Art alone, or Freedom alone, but these vitally connected with one another and brought into organic union. And in this union we recognise the distinctive features of the West. The Greek genius is the European genius in its first and brightest bloom. From a vivifying contact with the Greek spirit Europe derived that new and mighty impulse which we call Progress."

And then, contrasting our debt to the Greeks with our debt to the Hebrews, he continues:

> "The two tendencies summed up in the words Hebraism and Hellenism are often regarded as opposing and irreconcilable forces; and indeed it is only in a few rarely gifted individuals that these

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> principles have been perfectly harmonised. Yet harmonised they can and must be. How to do so is one of the problems of modern civilization—how we are to unite the dominant Hebrew idea of a Divine law of righteousness and of a supreme spiritual faculty with the Hellenic conception of human energies, manifold and expansive . . . how, in a word, Religion may be combined with Culture."

It is not too much to say that Butcher himself, in a very unusual degree, succeeded in attaining this ideal. Religion and culture were certainly combined in him into a rare harmony. Another combination, that of the idealist and the man of affairs, is apparent in his essay on "The Greek Idea of the State," which ends with the words:

> "It is as true now as in the days of Pericles that the greatness of a State lies not in the multitude of its inhabitants, nor in docks and arsenals, nor even in its institutions, but in the great qualities of its individual citizens, in their capacity for high and unselfish effort, and their devotion to the public good."

Other esays in this volume deal with the Melancholy of the Greeks, the Unity of Learning, etc. From the point of view of scholarship the most important is the last, which analyses Aristotle's conception of Fine Art and Poetry. To write well on Aristotle's "Poetics"—the treatise in which that conception is set forth—requires an adequate knowledge of Aristotle's philosophy in general, as embodied in his voluminous works; and to criticise it profitably, to estimate it not merely historically but as a practical contribution to science, demands a knowledge of modern theories of art and poetry as well. Both these qualifications Butcher possessed in a high degree. He illustrates Aristotle not only by comparison with his great predecessor, Plato, but by references to the Greek tragedians, to Goethe and Lessing, to Milton and Shakespeare, Coleridge and Charles Lamb.

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The essay exemplifies the modernity, so to speak, of classical literature, and its value, when embodied with sympathy and intelligence, as a guide to the understanding of much that is most important in present-day life and thought.

> "The Greek drama (says Butcher in conclusion) is the harmonious fusion of two elements which have never before been properly blended. Lyrical in its origin, epic in the nature of its materials, it is at once an expression of passionate feeling and the story of an action; it embodies emotion, but an emotion which grows into will and issues in deeds. If the lyrical utterance of feeling had remained the dominant, as it was the original element in a Greek tragedy, it would have been left for some other people to create the tragic drama. As it was, the Greeks fixed unalterably its distinctive form and the artistic principle of its structure."

This essay was subsequently amplified into what proved to be Butcher's most important work, "Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art, with a critical text and translation of the Poetics," first published in 1895, and republished in three later editions. The text and translation occupy only about a quarter of the volume; the rest is a commentary in the form of a continuous essay, explaining, analysing and judging Aristole's views on poetry and art, in the light of modern philosophy and experience. The conception of "imitation" in art—a conception which Ruskin takes pains to examine at length in "Modern Painters"—forms the subject of a specially interesting chapter. Butcher shows that by "imitation" Aristotle and the Greeks meant no mere copy of, or transcript from, nature, whether visible (as in the human body) or intelligible (as in human character), but rather a translation of its essential qualities into another medium, whether of stone, or paint, or words—a likeness indeed, but neither an attempt at illusion nor a mere symbol. This applies even to the art of music, in which emotions are in this

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sense imitated or reproduced and thus stimulated or, it may be, allayed; and the same is true of dancing. Architecture, according to Aristotle, is not a "fine art," but a useful or practical one; it "imitates" nothing.

> "Imitative art in its highest form, namely poetry, is an expression of the universal element in human life. In other words, it is an idealised image of human life—of character, emotion, action—under forms manifest to sense."

Poetry thus approaches philosophy, but differs from it in representing the universal in the concrete, sensuous form, i.e. through the particular.

After discussing the object of Fine Art—the giving of a high and noble sort of pleasure—in connection with its bearing on morality, Butcher naturally goes on to consider the special nature and function (in this respect) of Tragedy, the department of poetry to which Aristotle devotes his closest attention. That special function is at once a stirring and a purging or purifying of emotion. Butcher considers that Aristotle's definition of the ideal tragic hero is too narrow, and would exclude some of the noblest figures of Greek drama. It is very doubtful, too, how far Aristotle would have approved of Shakespeare's tragic drama, the peculiar character of which has been admirably elucidated by Professor A. C. Bradley in his work on "the Shakespearean Tragedy" But, on the whole, Butcher considers that Aristotle has fixed the fundamental principles of poetical criticism for ever, and declares his definition of poetry as "the expression of the universal in the particular" to be at once a proof of the amazing "sanity" of the Greek mind, and a corrective of modern morbidity and extravagance.

> "The perfect sanity of the Greek genius (he writes) is intimately connected with its universality. For is not insanity a kind of disordered individualism? The madman is an egoist; he takes his own fancies as the measure of all things. . . We call a man sane when his ideas not only form a coherent

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> whole in themselves, but fit in with the laws and facts of the outer world and with the universal human reason. Is not all this in keeping with Aristotle's theory that the effort of poetry is towards the universal; that it represents the permanent possibilities of human nature, the essentials rather than the accidents? . . All great poetry and art fulfil this law of universality, but none perhaps so perfectly as the poetry and art of the Greeks. The ode (of Pindar) rises by clear ascents from the individual to the universal. It is this that constitutes Greek idealism. The world of reality and the world of imagination were not for the Greeks separate spheres which stood apart; the breath of poetry kindled the facts of experience and the traditions of the past. The ideal in Greek art was not the opposite of the real, but rather its fulfilment and perfection."

I have dwelt at some length on this phase of Butcher's work because it illustrates not only his tastes and literary judgments, but also, to a remarkable degree, his intellectual and moral character—his sense of beauty, not indolent but strenuous, a stimulus to action as well as reflection, or rather arising from it; a moral straining after perfection and intelligence. Hence the combination of the scholar and the man of affairs, the practical man and the idealist, which gave him his rare capacity for influence and leadership.

In 1902 Butcher had the misfortune to lose his wife. It was a sudden and unexpected blow; and the death of one who had done so much to sweeten his life at Edinburgh loosened the ties that bound him to the place. He had occupied the chair of Greek for twenty years, and he would probably not have retained it in any case much longer. As it was, he resigned his professorship in the following year and took up his abode in London. In January, 1904, a farewell dinner was given him in Edinburgh, at which Mr. A. J. Balfour occupied the chair. It was a notable occasion. Speeches were made

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by Mr. Balfour, Lord Kinnear, Sir Robert Finlay, Mr. Graham Murray (now Lord Dunedin), and others. As Mr. Balfour said, that distinguished company had met

> "to express to him as Scotsmen the fact that we have adopted him as one of ourselves, and that we consider that his stay in the capital of the country has been fraught with benefits to the University of Edinburgh, and through the University of Edinburgh to the country at large. We regard our separation from him as not merely the loss of an efficient teacher and an able professor, but as the loss of a friend, a countryman, and an adopted brother."

In his reply, Butcher made an eloquent plea for Greek learning.

> "In the first place (he said) the spirit of Greece is to care for things of the mind above all material possessions; it stands for free and fearless enquiry, for truthful investigation, for exploration and expansion in all departments of learning; and this learning is not purely intellectual but one in which the intellect is touched with emotion. . . Next, the spirit of Greece is the sense of proportion, of adjustment, by which parts are in vital relation to the whole, and from the whole derive their meaning. In literature and art it gives organic unity; in life it means public spirit, the spirit of citizenship, an ennobling service for the public good. Again, in action, the spirit of Greece is one of compromise, the reconciliation of opposites. It is a spirit which is the foe of all fanaticism. Lastly, in education, the chief lesson which Greece has to teach us is that the greatest educative force is the force of personality, the power of sympathy . . . that learning is an intellectual partnership, a fellowship ripening into friendship."

In 1904 he accepted an invitation to lecture at Harvard and elsewhere in the United States. He had never crossed the Atlantic before, and the experience

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was both new and interesting to him. As was natural, he was welcomed and "handed round," with a profuse hospitality which was at once complimentary and fatiguing. Some of his addresses he published in a volume entitled "Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects," which, as he says himself, "may be regarded as forming a kind of companion volume to 'Some Aspects of the Greek Genius.'"

To give a complete picture of the Hellenic mind would require many volumes, but it may be fairly said that these two books, taken together, leave few of the salient points, of more than historical or antiquarian interest, untouched. The first two of the Harvard Lectures contrast Hellenic civilisation with that of Israel, "dominated by a great religious idea," on the one hand, and that of Phoenicia, "given over to the pursuit of material well-being," on the other.

> "To the Hebrews it was committed to proclaim to mankind the one supreme God, to keep alive his pure worship, to assert the inexorable moral law in a corrupt and heathen world. For the Greeks the paramount end was the perfection of the whole nature, the unfolding of every power and capacity, the complete equipment of the man and of the citizen for secular existence."

A striking comparison between the Book of Job and the Prometheus of Aeschylus follows. Then he goes on to emphasise the fact that, while Hebraism and Hellenism, each in its own way, still influence the thought and culture of the world, Phœnician wealth and power have disappeared and left no mark behind. So much indeed is this the case that Butcher has practically nothing at all to say about Phœnicia, the whole lecture being devoted to setting forth those idealistic, intellectual and spiritual qualities in which the selfish and materialistic Phœnicians were so sadly wanting. Other lectures discuss the Greek love of ordered freedom, the conjunction of art and inspiration in their poetry, and the nature of their literary criticism. The volume ends with an eloquent passage:

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"It is the glory of Greek literature that of all literatures it is at once the most artistic and the most popular. And our hope, our best hope, for the literature of the future is that, as the democratic movement expands and calls for the enlarged intellectual sympathies, the old Hellenic harmony may be re-established between the eternal love of beauty on which all art and literature rest, and that love of scientific truth which is the dominant mark of our own age."

This was the last literary work of importance that Butcher did. Such intervals of leisure as he afterwards enjoyed, he used in bringing out a careful critical edition of the speeches of Demosthenes (two volumes of which were published, in 1903 and 1907) for the Oxford University Press, and in correcting and otherwise improving the successive editions of "The Poetics" which a regular demand required. He was no sooner released from his professional duties than he was drawn into the field of administration and politics, in which he was to prove a capacity as great as he had shown in his Edinburgh chair. Before leaving Edinburgh he had already been appointed a member of the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, and in its discussions he took a prominent part. The Commission was appointed in July, 1901. Its chairman was Lord Robertson, and among its more prominent members were Lord Ridley, Bishop Healy, Judge Madden, Dr. Starkie and Sir Richard Jebb. Dr. Starkie, speaking at the opening session of the Irish Classical Association last February, styled Butcher the most valuable member of a distinguished body. His great aim appears to have been to satisfy the Catholic authorities, without touching Trinity College; and he therefore helped the chairman in excluding Trinity College from the discussion. In the examination of witnesses he pressed his questions with great persistency, seeking especially to discover the respective views of Catholics and Protestants as to ecclesiastical control. He was anxious that the students

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of Maynooth should be obliged to attend lectures in Dublin in order to obtain degrees, holding that only thus could the higher advantages of academical education be really enjoyed. But perhaps his best work on the Commission was done in keeping the peace between the chairman and his colleagues. One of the most distinguished of these informs me that it was Butcher's tact and sweetness of temper that were most influential in saving the situation, which frequently appeared to be desperate. Eventually, in February, 1903, the Commission produced its report, which proposed the conversion of the Royal University into a teaching University, of a federal nature, with the Queen's Colleges and a new college for Roman Catholics in Dublin as its constituent parts, and a new governing body on an academical basis, but without the power of affiliation. As, however, the report was accompaned by no less than eight "reservations" or minority reports, the chairman himself dissenting from the scheme, it is not surprising that the proposals of the Commission fell flat, and that their labours were to a large extent thrown away.

When the Liberal Government came into power, Mr. Bryce, as Chief Secretary, lost no time in appointing another Commission to tackle the thorny subject of Irish University Education. The Commission was appointed in June, 1906. Sir Edward Fry was chairman, and among the members were Chief Baron Palles, Sir Thomas Raleigh, Sir Arthur Rucker (Principal of the University of London), Mr. Douglas Hyde, and Dr. Jackson (of Cambridge). Butcher was the only person who served on both this and the former Commission. There was no question, this time, of excluding Trinity College from investigation, for the Commission was expressly directed "to inquire into and report upon the present state of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the University of Dublin." But, though the object of the Government appears to have been to obtain a report in favour of bringing Trinity College into the scheme of a National

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University for Catholics as well as Protestants, the Commissioners, when, with commendable celerity, they reported in January, 1907, declared that, in their opinion, it was impossible to make that great foundation available, in an adequate degree, for the higher education of Roman Catholics. They therefore recommended the establishment in Dublin of a college for Roman Catholics, leaving, however, the position of this college and its relations to the University of Dublin or the Royal University indefinite. The Bill eventually produced by Mr. Birrell and carried into effect fell back rather on the scheme proposed by the former Commission, but with very important modifications. When it came on in Parliament, Butcher opposed the granting of indefinite powers of affiliation to the Senate of the new National University, but in vain. The powers were granted, with the result that students at Maynooth may now obtain academical degrees without having received anything that can properly be called academical education. Although Mr. Birrell's scheme differed in many ways from what Butcher desired, he accepted a place on the Senate of the new University, and thenceforward took an active part in its proceedings.

Reference has just been made to Butcher's parliamentary action. It was in 1906 that he became, on the death of his old friend and colleague, Sir Richard Jebb, a member of Parliament, as representative of the University of Cambridge. His first speech showed his intense interest in Irish education. It was made on the introduction of the Irish University Bill. Regretting the impossibility of Protestant and Catholic youths meeting together for university education on Irish soil, but recognising the fact, and recognising also that Ireland could not afford to wait till the sentiment changed, he begged the House, in impassioned language, to substitute for the Royal University—"a mere examining board"—a real University where the Catholic Irish layman could obtain what he desired. Mr. Swift MacNeill, M.P., addressing the University College Legal Society

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last February, said of this speech that "it was appreciated to the full while he was still with us"; and he quoted Mr. Dillon, who, following Mr Butcher in debate, "said that, speaking for himself and all his colleagues, he had not for many years listened to a speech which had moved them more profoundly. No speech, he added, had ever created on the Irish benches more enthusiasm and profound gratification."

This first effort not only won the warm approval of the Irish members. but at once gave Butcher an established position in the House. This position he constantly improved during the next four years. He did not speak very frequently, but confined himself principally to educational questions and matters connected with Ireland, on both of which he spoke with thorough knowledge. He opposed Home Rule in all its forms, and he courageously brought to light the crimes and cruelties with which that cause has too often been associated. Yet with not a few of its supporters he maintained the friendliest relations; and even his keenest opponents could not refuse the meed of admiration to his eloquence and public spirit. A member of the late Government, who knew him well, writes of him that

> "He made his mark in the House of Commons, and retained his hold on that assembly, by a rare combination of gifts. He conveyed with perfect lucidity a complete mastery of any subject, however complicated, on which he chose to speak; and he doubled the effect of his intense sincerity by a personal charm which conciliated opposition and won attention for the cause he had at heart."

It can hardly be doubted that, had he lived to see the advent to power of a Unionist Government, he would have held high office in the Ministry. But neither his parliamentary duties nor his work on the University Commission exhausted his activity. He was particularly active in connexion with the English Classical Association, of which he was one of the founders in 1903. He was chairman of its council from that date onwards,

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and President in 1907. With the main object of the Association—the diffusion of a knowledge of the literature and ideals of the ancient world, the improvement of teaching in these subjects, and the bringing home to the public mind the necessity of their recognition in any scheme of national culture—he was in the fullest sympathy. Among the special efforts of the Association which he guided or initiated one of the most important was the reform in the pronunciation of Latin, which is now generally accepted in English schools and universities, and the beginning of a similar change in that of Greek. Of the Classical Association in Ireland he was also the first President. Butcher also took part in various beneficent and patriotic movements and organisations, such as the League of Empire and the Victoria League. He was a prominent member of the Hellenic Society and of the Committee which manages the British School at Athens. When the British Academy, for the encouragement of historical, philological and philosophical studies, was established in 1902, he was one of its original members; and in 1909 he became its President. In July of the previous year he had been appointed a Trustee of the British Museum; and in December he became a member of the Standing Committee, which is the administrative body controlling that great institution. In the higher education of the country he had indeed attained an almost unique position; in all matters of importance he was universally consulted. General confidence was placed in his judgment, for he combined in a remarkable degree intelligence, sympathy and sincerity. Honours fell thick upon him in his later years. He received honorary degrees at Oxford, Dublin, St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, and Harvard. He was a corresponding member of the American Academy; he received from the King of Greece, in 1910, the Order of the Redeemer; and, just at the beginning of his last illness, he was elected an Honorary Fellow of his own College, Trinity, Cambridge. While he was on what proved to be his

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death-bed, he was invited to become a member of the Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851, and of its Board of Management, for the purpose of aiding in the direction of its educational work.

In the Classical Review for February, 1911, his old friend, Professor Verrall writes:

> "We lose a living type and representative, such as is not and cannot be often seen, of that humanity, that sweet and noble facility of social and intellectual intercourse, which the study of letters should produce or promote. We suffer the eclipse of an ideal. . . Few men have better served their generation, and of scholars perhaps not any."

Professor Gilbert Murray, in an address given (April 6) before the Academic Committee of the Royal Society of Literature, of which Butcher was a member, said:

> "We judge a scholar, not by his output of books, not by his new discoveries, not by his weight of brute learning. We judge him by something that he is, and by a particular service that he thereby renders to the world. . . If we apply any test of this sort to Henry Butcher—was the great tradition of Greece a vital spirit to him, a spirit which informed his teaching, his writings, even his manner of speech and life; the clear and certain answer which we must give to these questions makes us see why it is that Butcher counts, in England at any rate, as a great scholar. . . He seemed so exactly what a scholar ought to be that we hardly liked to admit the possibility that such a result had little to do with education, but came simply from the happy chance of an extraordinary nature."

Lord Reay, formerly President of the British Academy, in an address given before that body on January 18th, said:

> "He had a single-minded and simple nature, and the *simplex sigillum veri* was fully applicable to him. There was a higher influence which made itself felt. He was a devout Christian. His

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strength of character, of convictions, was derived from his faith in principles which are immutable. He advocated a cause strenuously, but he never roused any animosity. He never made use of invective, and his style was always persuasive. He felt deeply; and his transparent sincerity raised the tone of any controversy in which he was engaged."

Professor Rhys Roberts writes thus, in the Leeds University Journal:

"In his own person, Mr. Butcher was singularly free from the characteristic failings of the scholar. No one could for a moment think of him as a dilettante, a pedant, or a recluse. . . . He was thorough in all his work, but he steadily maintained his sense of proportion; his learning was controlled by judgment. He was at home in his library, but he lived in the world of men, and loved his country with devotion. When you came to know him personally, you found that he was the kindliest of men, the most human of humanists. . . The charm and distinction which appeared even in the least thing he wrote were but the pale reflexion of his inner self; the man was finer and rarer than anything that came from his pen."

A well-known contributor to "Punch," writing of the opening of Parliament last February, says:

"Looking round on the busy scene one thinks with profound sorrow of one whose presence will charm the House no more. . . A scholar of rare distinction, a speaker of polished lucidity, intimately acquainted with the drift of public affairs, he was of the limited group of men who are the salt of the mélange of humanity that goes to make up the House of Commons."

Bishop Welldon, writing of him in the "Manchester Guardian," speaks of

"the charm of his personality, the prismatic effect, as it were, of his many graces, playing each upon the other in a coruscation of intellect and geniality,

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> . . and all those qualities which made him the hero, and almost the idol, of his many friends. . . For in all that he did or said, and above all, in himself, there was ever the note of distinction which raised him above other men. and yet, higher than this, the note of sympathy which made him one of them.

Mr. Walter Long, in a letter to the "Times," dated on the day after Butcher's death, writes:

> "He was so able, so clear-sighted, so courageous, and knew the country in which he loved to live so intimately, that he was always able to offer sound advice and to render signal service to Ireland and the United Kingdom. To know him was to love him; and few can realise better than I how incessantly he thought of Ireland and Irish problems, and how hard he laboured to remove the causes for discontent, and to make Ireland a prosperous and happy part of the Empire."

Sir Samuel Dill, at a meeting of the Classical Association of Ireland in February last, after referring to Butcher's scholarship and learning, went on to remark that those who knew him

> "cherished his memory for qualities far higher than any of these. His was a beautiful character in its unselfishness and desire to help all good causes, in its combined gentleness and manly courage, in a charming courtesy which was the flower of a rare inner culture of mind and heart."

And Dr. W. J. M. Starkie, on the same occasion, declared him to be one

> "whose sympathies were always upon the side of his own country, where his happiest hours were spent. Although he differed from the majority of his fellow-countrymen on some questions, his opinions were never tinged with political or religious rancour. He was himself incapable of bitterness, and it was difficult for others in his presence to be bitter. He had, in short, never known a better Irishman."

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But to continue quoting from the addresses, letters and articles which his lamented death called forth, would fill a whole number of this journal. Let us conclude with the verses contributed to the "Spectator" (January 7) by Mr. Ernest Myers, and to "Punch" (January 11) by (it is understood) another Irishman, Mr. C. E. Graves.

Vital and valiant spirit, friend beloved,
Knight of all noble orders of the soul,
Son of the morning, must thou then be gone
And leave us darkling in the deepened gloom?
In light and truth and joy in all things fair
Thy being moved, whether with winged feet,
Inspired, inspiring, thou wouldst lead the way
To Heliconian heights and founts afar
(Dead to the dead but to the living life)
Wherefrom Earth's Western children drank the draught
That filled their veins with onward-striving zeal:
Or whether in the Assembly's grosser air
Thou didst stand forth a champion of the wronged,
Unmasker stern of dastard tyrannies,
Welder of honest wills through both our Isles.
Light-bringer wert thou ever; light and love
Kept thy heart warm and true, thy insight clear.
Our eyes henceforth the gathering shades may grieve,
Not thine. On the dim River's farther shore
There are who wait thee, stretching arms of love
Unsatisfied; they call thee; unto them
Bear thou the lamp we lose, left labouring here,
Feeding a wistful hope with dreams of dawn.

ERNEST MYERS.

IN MEMORIAM.

Dowered with the glamour of his native isle
That fired his tongue and lit his ardent gaze,
That lent enchantment to his radiant smile,
And grace to all his ways,

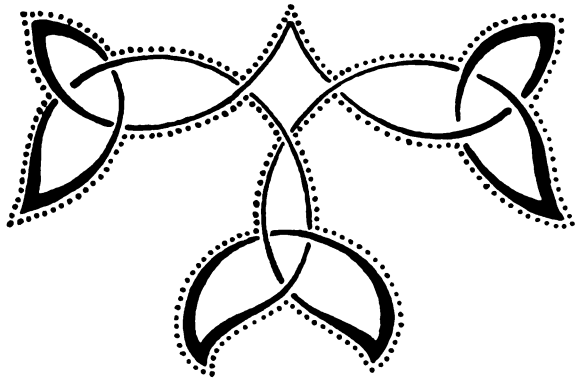
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He spread the light of Hellas, holding high
The torch of learning with a front serene,
A living witness of the powers that lie
Within the golden mean.

And whether in the groves of Academe,
Or where contending factions strive and strain
In the mid-current of life's turbid stream,
His honor knew no stain.

Heedless of self, he played a knightly part,
Bowing to none but Duty's stern decrees.
Nil peccavisti unquam, noble heart,
Nisi quod mortuus es.

G. W. PROTHERO.



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The Clann Carthaigh

By S. T. McCARTHY.

HAVING now briefly set forth the manner in which the Earl of Clancar's possessions were disposed of, we shall return to the period immediately following his death. As has been already stated, he had, by his wife Honoria, one daughter Elena, who was married to the celebrated Florence MacCarthy. He left no legitimate male issue surviving him, but had some illegitimate sons, of whom Donal was his father's favourite. The story of the turbulent career of this individual (who may be called the "Stormy Petrel" of South Munster during the end of the sixteenth century) is so remarkable that it merits some notice. Donal first brought himself into notoriety by breaking his way out of prison; and from that time he led the life of an outlaw, under the ban of all authority, in inaccessible localities, "a flitting fiery light of the swamps of Desmond." He has been called the "Robin Hood" of Munster, and, in that capacity, is described as "taking meat, drink and spoil where he could get it." He was, in an especial manner, the hater and tormentor of Nicholas Browne, upon whom he preyed, with fire and sword, from the time the latter began to have dealings with the Earl of Clancar; and his chief pursuit for many years was to make raids on Browne's lands, seizing his cattle, slaughtering and maiming his horses, and occasionally

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slaying his followers. In those incursions Donal did not always come off scot free, and sometimes lost many of his followers; Browne being a foeman worthy of his steel, and as fearless and intrepid as Donal himself.

In the early part of 1597, soon after the Earl's death, Donal seemed to be turning over a new leaf. He proceeded to England to urge his claims to certain lands which his father had left him. An order was passed in his favour in the course of the following year, 1598. After that came another order providing a sufficient dower for the Earl of Clancar's widow. However, on his return to Ireland, Donal, emboldened by O'Neill (who was then looked upon as little less than a King), and flinging his recent inheritance to the winds, proclaimed himself "MacCarthy Mor." He took possession of the late Earl's estates. The country was in a state of open rebellion, into which Donal plunged with ardour, taking part, amongst other things, in the assault and capture of Browne's Castle of Molahiffe. He was then called away to fight the Earl of Essex, whom he chased out of Munster, inflicting on him a severe defeat at a place since known as the "Passage of Plumes."[1] It was shortly after this, in April, 1599, that Florence MacCarthy was sent over to Ireland on his mission for the pacification of Munster. Soon after his arrival O'Neill acknowledged him as "MacCarthy Mor," thereby deposing Donal, on whom he had conferred the honour a year previously. The next thing we hear of Donal is his submission to Carew, whom he besought to obtain for him the Queen's pardon, he offering his services in the prosecution of Florence. Carew, in his letter of the 30th August, 1600, backed up this request, and recommended the grant of some land to Donal, "according to the quality of his service."[2]

(1) This was a certain narrow pass about a mile long, hemmed in by a thick wood, where Essex and his soldiers were drawn into an ambuscade. It derives its name from the magnificently plumed hats worn by the English soldiers. Essex reached Dublin, says Camden, with his companies "incredibly wasted."

2 St. Leger and Power, writing to Cecil on the 10th December 1599 urged the advisability of recognising Donal as "MacCarthy Mor."

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After Florence's last deportation to England in August, 1601, never to return, Donal again betook himself to O'Neill, who, now seeing that Florence was finally removed from all possible co-operation in the National Cause, readily agreed to welcome him (Donal) once more under the title of "MacCarthy Mor."

Donal makes his final appearance on the scene in 1605, when, on a grant to him by the King, "for his late services and loyalty," of the 28 ploughlands left him by his late father, "together with the Castle Loghie and seven ploughlands thereunto adjoining, with remainder to his reputed son Donal McCartie, and his heires male," he retired to his domains at Castlelough, where he spent the rest of his days. His son, Donal Oge, seems to have resided at Ballincarrig, not far from Ballybrack station. His property was confiscated by Cromwell and never restored.

Florence MacCarthy was son of Donogh, the third son of Donal McCarthy Reagh, Lord of Carbery, and was born about the year 1561. Donal MacCarthy died in 1576, when Florence was about 15 years of age, and he was succeeded, under the law of Tanistry, by his brother Owen, who was duly inaugurated. As a minor Florence legally fell under the guardianship of Sir William Drury, the Lord President of Munster, but he seems to have been permitted to live amongst his own people. He served with the Royal forces from the first outbreak of the Desmond rebellion. At its close, when he was about 22 years old, he repaired to the English Court. On his arrival in London, he won the good-will of Lord Burghley, who, in due course, presented him to Queen Elizabeth. Florence seems to have possessed the power of favourably impressing all to whom he had access. He soon won the Queen's favour, who "most graciously and bountifully rewarded him, presenting

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him, at once, with a gift of 1,000 marks, and settling on him an annuity of 200 marks." For some years after that, he passed his time between London and Carbery without attracting any particular attention. Later on it was discovered that he had "affected the company of Spaniards and had learnt their language," and that he had so won the affections of old Lord de Courcey as to obtain from him vast extents of land, "especially the fortress of Downpatrick (the old Head of Kinsale), which commanded the Harbour of Kinsale, and mostly tending towards Spain."

In July, 1583, Sir Owen MacCarthy Reagh submitted to the Queen a bill of expenditure incurred by himself under the head of "Cess and maintenance" of the Queen's troops within his territory. Soon afterwards, it transpired that he was about to repair to the Queen's Court. Donal "na Pipe" MacCarthy, his nephew, and the heir of Carbery, took alarm at this, as he feared that the purpose of his visit was the surrender of his lands and their resumption to hold under English Tenure. He called a family meeting, the result of which was that Sir Owen consented to leave matters as they were, on the condition of Donal's binding himself, in secprities of £10,000 to Florence, that he would take no steps to divert the succession from him (Florence), who under the law of Tanistry would succeed Donal.

In 1587 rumours were heard of the intention of the Earl of Clancar to "prefer his daughter in marriage." This, of course, attracted the attention of the Munster authorities. Sir Warham St. Leger suggested to Sir Thomas Norreys, then Vice-President of Munster, to make an offer for the young lady's hand. Sir Thomas at first thought well of the idea; but, in the end, "misliked of it." Sir Valentine Browne, who was then seated at Molahiffe, in the centre of the Earl's country, had a son Nicholas (already referred to), for whose preferment in marriage he was anxious, and resolved to seek for him the prize timorously relinquished by Sir Thomas. It was presently bruited about that the

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Earl was agreeable to this, to the great wrath of the heads of the MacCarthy sept. About this time the Earl repaired to the English Court, and shortly afterwards Florence quitted it and returned to Ireland. There he presented himself to Sir Thomas Norreys, and complained that the Earl of Clancar had broken faith with him, in the matter of loans made by him (Florence) on the security of the Earl's lands, and had forfeited the securities. He offered to make over to Sir Thomas the benefit of these forfeitures; but, finding Sir Thomas was unwilling to take them up, he requested letters authorising him to take possession of the lands in Desmond legally his security. The letters were given, and Florence took his departure.

A few days later the whole of Munster was startled by the news that the heiress of MacCarthy Mor was married to her kinsman Florence! Sir Warham St. Leger, on the 14th May, 1588, made a full report of this fact to the Lords of the Privy Council, attributing it to a "cunning practice contrived" between the Countess, her mother, and the said Florence, without the Earl's consent, and laying before the Queen a detailed statement of the consequences to be dreaded from "the contemptuous action."

The Queen was filled with indignation, and on the 3rd June sent orders to Sir Thomas Norreys to apprehend Florence, and to enquire into the "means and manner in which he had accomplished the marriage." Quickly following this came an order to arrest the Countess of Clancar, the bride, and all others concerned. On the 12th July Sir Francis Walsingham reported the capture of Florence (who was given over in charge of the Bishop of Cork), and also of the Countess MacFinnan and others, who were committed to Castle Maine. He put in a plea for the release of the Countess from that "unwholesome" prison, and for her consignment to his charge. That the Earl escaped arrest was doubtless due to the fact that on the delivery of the marriage deeds he declared that his consent was con-li-

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tional on its being approved by Her Majesty.

Florence's detention in Cork does not appear to have been rigorous, if reliance can be placed on a letter from Sir Valentine Browne to Walsingham, in which it is stated that he (Florence) "rather rejoyceth with banquettinge," and had the benefit of his wife's company. This arrangement, however, soon came to an end, Florence being sent to Dublin, and his wife being made over to the charge of certain of her father's servants. Finally, Florence was brought to London on the 10th February, 1589, and handed over to the custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

To none of the denizens of Desmond did the news of Florence's marriage come with greater dismay than to Nicholas Browne, who had aspired to the hand of Lady Ellen, and who doubtless never feared a rival in Florence, who was known throughout the country to be contracted to the daughter of Sir Owen O'Sullivan.

Sir Nicholas, however, "made the best of a bad bargain," for, shortly afterwards, turning to the young lady whom Florence was supposed to have thrown over, he consoled her and himself by making her his wife; and, gaining thereby the support of her father and kinsmen, was in a better position to hold his ground against the MacCarthys.

Shortly after Florence's committal to the Tower, Sir Warham St. Leger reported that his wife had escaped from the custody of the parties in Cork who had charge of her. On the 23rd June, 1589, some six weeks after his arrival at the Tower, Florence was subjected to an examination, which touched mainly on his supposed acquaintance or dealing with certain suspected persons. No reference whatever was made to his marriage or to his wife's flight! On the 14th May he addressed a letter to Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer, praying that his wife might be secured from all molestation or interference on the part of her father. This petition appears to have had a favourable result; as, shortly afterwards, Lady Ellen came to England, and

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now appeared at the Queen's Court, as a suitor for her husband's release. An order was passed, on the 15th December, 1590, to the effect that, in order to obviate any prejudice to Florence's right during his restraint, arrangements should be made to have his officers, servants and tenants continued in peaceful possession of his lands and castles.

At length, on the 19th January, 1591, after nearly two years' incarceration, an order came for Florence's release from the Tower, on his entering a bond, for £1,000, not to leave the realm or to go more than fifty miles out of London. On the 17th June he petitioned that, as his wife was then with child, and he could not leave her, even if permitted to go to Ireland, something might be allowed for their maintenance, and and to nable him to tide over his pecuniary difficulties. In reply to this he was granted, not a sum of money, but an order for protection against arrest for debt. In due time his wife gave birth to a son; and as soon as she was well enough, proceeded with the infant to Ireland. Florence continued to urge his suit for permission to return there, and ultimately succeeded in pursuading the Queen that he was the only person competent to deal with Donal MacCarthy, the Earl's "base son." The Queen agreed to let him go to Ireland, on the understanding that he should help in establishing her authority over the Irish Chieftains. She held out hopes, in the event of his succeeding, of pardon of his marriage, complete liberty, and some future benefit on the death of his father-in-law. And, as money was wanted, Elizabeth passed an order transferring to him, when realised, a sum of £500, the amount of a fine imposed some years before on David Barry, Lord Buttevant, as a condition of his being saved from attainder, and his esates from forfeiture, for his father's share in the Desmond rebellion. The payment of the fine had never been enforced, but it was ordered that this should be done without further delay.

However, delays took place in its realisation, and

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Florence, on the 26th March, 1594, had to write to Burghley, complaining that Barry had fled to England, that the fine remained uncollected, and that he (Florence) had no means of livelihood. About this time Sir Owen MacCarthy died, and Florence became Tanist of Carbery.

While the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam was in active pursuit of the fine, an order reached him to summon Florence before him, to give answer to a fresh set of allegations, made against him by Lord Barry, the drift of which was to connect him with certain suspicious persons. After having given what appear to be satisfactory explanations of the feeble imputations made against him, he hurried away to England, about September, 1594, to plead his cause, in person, before Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil. He was back again in Dublin in October, 1596.

The Earl of Clancar died towards the close of the year 1596. His death was followed by a great scramble for his possessions. As a step towards the settlement of this question, a Government Commission was appointed to make a survey of the lands, lordships, and revenues belonging to the dignity of MacCarthy Mor. The date of the decision of the Lord Lieutenant and his Council, re the Earl's lands, is March 16th, 1599. But before referring to this, it will be convenient to say a few words on the general question of the inheritance.

It must be mentioned here, that, during the Earl of Clancar's lifetime, it was arranged that, on failure of male heirs, his estate, on his death, should revert to the Crown. Nicholas Browne held Her Majesty's patent, prepared some eight years before the Earl's death, and granted to his father, Sir Valentine Browne, for a lease in perpetuity of those lands. But, strange to say, it contained a glaring and fatal flaw, which Florence was not slow to discover and point out. "Should the Earl die *without heirs*," said this document," "then did the Queen assign the Seignory to Browne for ever." The insertion of the word "heirs,"

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and the omission of the word "male" before it, rendered the document null and void, inasmuch as the contingency on which he grant was to take effect had not occurred, the Earl having left a *daughter*; and null and void it should remain until the death of Florence's wife and of his children issueless.

Florence's claims met with considerable opposition. Amongst others, there was a remonstrance from the Bishop of Ardfert and five other "poor Englishmen" (as they called themselves) to the Privy Council, wherein they advocated the rejection of Florence's claims, and the division of the lands amongst "Gentlemen of good sorte and condition." The first matter which came on for decision was a claim, by Florence, for certain parcels of the demesne lands, said to have been mortgaged to the late Earl's daughter, for her advancement in marriage. On the 15th January, 1597, Norreys and Robinson, who had been called upon for their opinion, made a report to the Lord Treasurer, and recommended that, excepting a small portion for Donagh MacCarthy, the late Earl's "base" uncle, and for Donal his base son of best repute, those lands should be granted to Florence in consideration of "the long and troublesome suits and imprisonments which the Gent' hath sustained by reason of his match with the Earl's daughter, which, together with his good coreadge and endeavours in Her Majesty's Service, enforceth us to deem him worthy of favour and relief." They expressed their conviction that he would apply himself to the Queen's Service, and the good of the Country of Desmond, and would, by reason of his marriage, be better able than anyone else to check the turbulence of the Earl's base sons.

The Countess of Clancar claimed a dower out of her late husband's estate, and she was, under a warrant dated the 13th August, 1598, allowed a full third part of his castles, lands, etc. A portion of land, some seven quarters in extent, was also bestowed on the Earl's base son Donall.

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Florence MacCarthy, about this time, drew up a statement of "reasons to prove that the Earl's lands ought to descend to Ellen his wife and to his heirs." As his suit was not progressing, he, in June, 1598, proceeded to England to prove his claim in person. It may be mentioned that, while things were thus unsettled, O'Sullivan Mor refused to give the Rod to either of the other two claimants to the dignity of "MacCarthy Mor" (Donal, and Darby MacOwen Lord of Duhallow). At length, on the 16th March, 1599, came the decision of Florence's suit. It was awarded that "in hope of Florence, his loyaltie and service being being best able to recover those lands out of the rebel's hands, Her Majesty be moved to grant to him the thirty-two quarters held by the Brownes in mortgage, and the other sixteen of which the Earl died seized, Browne being paid the amount of his mortgage money, and the late Earl's Chiefries, Seignories, rents, and superiorities being reserved to the Queen." These reservations, however, as Florence pointed out in petitions which he shortly afterwards addressed to the Secretary of State, very materially lessened the value of the concession, and he prayed for a "convenient charge," meaning thereby a commission in Her Majesty's army, suitable in pay, clothing, appointments, arms and rank to the number of men he should bring to serve the Queen.

At a Cabinet Council held soon afterwards, the expediency of sending him to Ireland, to attempt the pacification of Munster, was considered. It was decided that no Chieftain could be worse than Donal, then in possession of Desmond, and that Florence alone could advance any claims to the Chieftainship and Country of MacCarthy Mor, or expel the bold rebel who had usurped both. He started for Ireland about 1599, carrying with him a letter from Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Lieutenant, setting forth the purpose for which he was sent, the extent of the grant made to him, and allowing to the Lord Lieutenant the discretion of ex-

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tending those concessions should he think it necessary.

Florence, on arriving in Ireland, explained to St. Leger and to Power that he was sent over to recover Desmond for the Queen, out of the hands of Donal, to rid the province of O'Neill's mercenaries; and to withdraw every member of his own sept from the action into which their usurping Chieftain had forced them. On the 10th December, 1599, St. Leger and Power wrote to Cecil advising that Florence MacCarthy should receive some aid in recovering the Country, and also the title of "MacCarthy Mor," as that would induce the Country people to forsake the rebels. In the meantime Florence entered into possession of the demesne lands, and castles of the head of his sept, and assumed supreme rule within the MacCarthy Mor's territory, without any show of opposition, except from Donall.

The next thing we learn is that he visited the Camp of O'Neill, where he was unanimously acknowledged as "MacCarthy Mor." This was in the early part of 1600. In a letter of the 3rd May, of that year, to Sir George Carew, the new Lord President of Munster, he defends his intercourse with O'Neill, on the plea that he had a warrant, then extant, to confer with or entertain any rebel. This letter was enclosed, by Carew, in one he wrote, on the 6th idem, to Cecil, wherein he gave a long account of Florence's proceedings, and of an interview the latter had with him, in the course of which Carew reproved him for his "traitorous behaviour" and his "monstrous ingratitude" towards the Queen. Carew called on him to deliver up his son, as a surety for his future loyal behaviour. He consented to this, on condition that the Country of Desmond should be passed to him, and that he got the title of "MacCarthy Mor," but Carew refused these terms.

In April, 1600, shortly after his visit to O'Neill's Camp, there occurred an incident in connection with which Florence incurred some obloquy. Sir Henry Power, whose term of office as Lord President of Mun-

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ster was drawing to a close, entertained some "doubt" about him. This doubt, as Sir Henry mentions in his letter of the 30th April to the Lords of the Privy Council, caused him to "lay a plott upon a castle which he (Florence) possessed, called the Old Head, which took effect." Then he sent 1,000 men into Carbery, with directions "either to waste it or to take assurance of the freeholders." Captain Flower, who commanded the expedition, wrote an account of it, which showed that he carried out in a wholesale and ruthless manner his orders to "burn and spoil all such as were revolted from their loyalty." At one place there was a skirmish between Flower's forces and those led by Florence, resulting in severe casualties.

Florence, in a letter dated the 6th May, 1600, to Cecil, described how Captain Bostock and Flower were sent with Her Majesty's forces into Carbery, "where they did nothing but burn two castles of mine, and kill as many men, women and children as they found in them, and burnt as many villages, houses and corn as appertained to any of my people." He (Florence) was then on his way to Desmond; but, on hearing of those proceedings, he despatched 200 footmen "to give Flower and Bostock some impediment, and divert them from going any further into the Country." He explains how, with great reluctance, he was forced, in defence of his Countrymen, to engage in this skirmish with Captain Flower's troops.

Sir George Carew, the new Lord President, in a letter which he wrote to Florence asking him to meet him at Limerick, assured him that he "had no doubt of his honesty," but his enemies were saying things to his prejudice. He added that it was now time for him to declare himself openly, and to do Her Majesty some service that should dissipate all suspicion.

Carew, in various letters to Cecil, from time to time, made imputations of traitorous conduct against Florence MacCarthy, and complained of his failure to meet him. He stated his intention of prosecuting him

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unless he appeared shortly. At length, in consequence seemingly of a despatch from Cecil, dated the 8th of November, 1600, urging him to bring matters to a point, Florence was seized and committed to prison. This fact is reported, by Carew, in his letter of the 18th June, 1601, wherein he observed that "there were then 14 days unexpired of the time allowed to Florence." He explained that he had so far overlooked Florence's faults by reason of the fact that the latter was under "protection." His pardon had been under seal since the 7th April, and he was given time to put in an assurance of his future loyalty. Florence and James Fitzgerald were sent to England on the 13th August 1601, and there committed to the Tower.

In a letter dated the 10th September, 1601, from Cecil to Carew, the former refers to an examination to which Florence (whom he terms a "malicious vain foole") had been subjected. He mentions that Florence "principally and absolutely denied that he had done anything in the beginning, but that which he had warrant to do, from the Commissioners in Munster, till he had recovered his Country, and, that for his alleged combination with Spaniards, it should never be proved, especially that particular concerning his writing to the Pope when Tyrone was in Munster or at any time." Towards the end Cecil says: "To be short, he makes it very meritorious to have delivered Tyrone's packets to you, and I perceive will draw in all his crimes so far within the reach of his pardon, as we must only make him a prisoner, and praise you for your discretion to put it within our power. And so hath the Queen willed me to write to you." After their examination Florence, and James FitzThomas were taken from Cecil's presence back to their cells, and doubtless all subsequent trace of their Tower life would be lost, were it not for the Governor's quarterly bills for their maintenance.

On the 16th April, 1606, on a petition to the King from Lady Ellen MacCarthy, it was ordered that she

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should have an annuity of £150 a year instead of £100, as allowed by Queen Elizabeth, and also that she should enjoy without fine, during her life, part of the lands of her father the late Earl, with remainder to Teige MacCarthy, her eldest son and heir apparent, and his heirs male, like remainder to her other three sons Donal, Cormac, and Finghin, the reversion to remain on the Crown. An order was also passed giving Donal MacCarthy all the lands left him by his father.

About that time Florence himself was on the point of obtaining his freedom, not to return to Ireland, but to live within 10 or 12 miles of London, Sir Thomas Vavasour, Marshall of the Household, had procured this concession from the Privy Council. But Sir George Carew, happening then to be in London, and hearing of it, got the Lord Chamberlain to "charge Sir Thomas to give it over"; so Florence remained in prison.

On the 15th October, 1614, Florence petitioned the Earl of Somerset to be set at liberty, as this would give him more facilities for carrying on his lawsuits and protecting his rights to certain portions of his lands, which had been wrongfully entered upon during his restraint. The result was that, after fourteen years of restraint, he was allowed to leave his prison, and enjoy such freedom as the condition of his sureties permitted. Three years afterwards an effort was made to bring him back to prison. An order was issued, at whose instance it was not stated, for preparation of an official "abstract of all such matters as were in record concerning Florence MacCarthy." About the same time there was laid before the Privy Council a lengthy, affidavit, by one Teig Hurley, a Carbery man, and former servant of Florence, containing a long string of allegations prejudicial to him. Shortly after this, after four years liberty upon sureties, he was suddenly hurried back to prison. In June, 1619, he petitioned to be enabled to answer any charges that might have been made against him. And on the 4th of December of that year came an Order of Council for his release from the Gate House.

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But, in 1624, he was again back in his old quarters. The Earl of Thomond, one of his sureties, had died, and parties who had an interest in his restraint lost no time in reporting the fact. Moreover, as luck would have it, about that time there came a letter from the Lord Deputy of Ireland to Mr. Secretary Conway, raising an alarm of danger to the State from Florence's being at liberty. In that letter Florence MacCarthy was spoken of as "a man infinitely adored in Munster, and a person of confidence now in England under good securitie and fytt to be restrained there." These few words had the effect of prolonging his incarceration for a very considerable time; for, under the plea of defective securities, the Privy Council ordered him to be detained in prison. At length there came a time when new sureties were found, and then the long-suffering man again sued for and obtained his liberty; but not until there had been forced from him a piteous complaint of the inhumanity to which he was subjected and another fruitless prayer that "he might be called upon to answer if there might be any matter against him." For 24 years he had made the same petition, and with the same result.

Of the second period of Florence's life in England —about 40 years—fourteen consecutively were spent in the Tower, and other prisons; these and a few intermittent residences of a year or two at a time, in the same abodes, completed the tale of years of his absolute incarceration. During the earlier, and probably the much shorter portion of this time, he was a close prisoner, when no one from without was allowed access to him. After this he obtained, subject to sudden revocation, intervals of comparative freedom. He might then receive all men from without, who chose to visit him. This, and that he could go abroad and dispose of his time as he pleased, we learn from the affidavit of Teig Hurley. He, like other State prisoners, was allowed free intercourse with his friends, and whatever attendance and personal comforts his fortune would allow.

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The last petition in his handwriting bears date some time in the year 1630-31 (as is supposed). That he was alive in 1637, and probably later, appears from a letter dated the 18th August of that year, from Stafford the Lord Deputy of Ireland, to Mr. Secretary Coke, relating to some suit of his then pending, in which he is described as a "cunning old rogue." There is a registry of a burial in St. Martin's in the Fields, to the following effect, which probably is that of Florence:

Markarkey December 18th 1640

Dms Hibernicus.

The "Pacata Hibernia" abounds with references to Florence and to what it terms the "juggling." We meet it in frequent allusions to his "traitorous behaviour," "presumptuous dealings," "tergiversations too tedious to be mentioned," "hateful and exorbitant courses," etc., etc. He was assuredly one of the best abused men of his time. In Chapter VI of the "Pacata Hibernia" is set forth "a briefe collection of Florence MacCarthy's treasons, and practices with the rebels." The chief allegations are:—

(1) That he conferred with one John Annyas, in his lodgings at Cork, about the erection of fortifications at Dunkerron, to defend himself and James Fitz-Thomas against the English, and give succour to the Spaniards.

(2) That he summoned various Chieftains and gentlemen in Desmond to assemble and create him "MacCarthy Mor," and that Owen Sullivan had woful experiences of the result of not responding to that call.

(3) That he wrote to the Earl of Tyrone, to come to Munster, to further the Catholic Cause, on whose arrival Florence swore fealty to him, and was by him created "MacCarthy Mor."

(4) That, assuming regal authority, he appointed one Donal Ferrers to be Sheriff of the County of Cork.

(5) That gathering together some Provincials and

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Bownoghs, and engaged with Her Majesty's forces under a Captain Flower near Cork.

(6) That when Sir Charles Wilmot planted garrisons in Kerry, he caused the Castle of Killorglin, appertaining to Master Jenkin Conway an undertaker, to be burnt, fearing less Sir Charles should plant himself there.

(7) That, when divers means were made by the Governor of Kerry, and James Earl of Desmond, to get James Oge, the Constable of Castlemaine, to deliver it up, Florence forcibly dissuaded him from doing so.

The "Pacata Hibernia" contains no less than five letters, written by James FitzThomas to Florence, between the 17th May and the 2nd September, 1600, begging the latter to come and assist him with his forces, but seemingly without any effect.

It is stated, in the above-mentioned work, that when Florence was arrested there were found in his various places of residence "a whole sea of traitorous papers." Besides those from James FitzThomas, above referred to, there were some from Northern Chiefs, and from a Spanish Prelate, and his Secretary. Most if not all of these had been given by Florence himself to Carew. Scarcely one of them was in Florence's own writing.

Carew, in his letter to Cecil of the 18th June, 1601, says: "Florence was enjoined, by the time prefixed, to put in an assurance for his further loyalty; at the time that I committed him, there was but 14 days to come unexpired." It would seem from this that, unless there were circumstances urgently calling for it, his arrest at the time was at least a premature and precipitate measure.

In regard to Florence MacCarthy's behaviour, during the examination to which he was subjected soon after his second incarceration, Mr. MacCarthy Glas observes: "he then and upon every available occasion afterwards defied any man living to convict him of any overt act of disloyalty, except the single irregularity,

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into which he had been forced in self-defence by Flower and Bostock, and which had been included in the unlimited pardons which he had receive at various times since. The incessant complaint, running through all his petitions to the Privy Council, and to Cecil himself for years to come, will be found to be that he had never been called on to account for any action during his brief period of rule in Desmond."

It will be interesting here to quote, from sources not over favourable to Florence, the estimate formed of him in other quarters. The "Pacata Hibernia" in one of its earliest references to him observed that he had "possessed the minds of those in Carbery and Desmond with a strange opinion of his worthiness." Then again in 1624, the Lord Deputy, writing to Mr. Secretary Conway, observed that "he was a man infinitely adored in Munster."

That Florence was a man of singular ability is clearly evident from a perusal of the numberless letters, petitions, etc., from his pen embodied in his "Life and Letters" by Mr. MacCarthy (Glas). To quote the words of the author of that biography, those documents show "the supreme address with which was carried on a struggle of half a century about his property; the care with which every legal document concerning it was preserved, the readiness with which, upon occasion, they were invariably forthcoming, and above all, the consummate skill with which, at the most critical moments of his career, his correspondence was conducted." And making allowance for the peculiar phraseology of the period in which he lived, those documents exhibit him as a man of unusual learning, great literary ability, and a rare amount of worldly knowledge. He seems also to have possessed in an eminent degree, the power of winning the good-will of those with whom he came in contact.

The only contemporary portrait of Florence is from the pen of Thomas Stafford, author of the "Pacata Hibernia." Describing his visit to the President "then

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lying at Moyallo," he speaks of his "bringing some 40 horse in his company, and himself in the middest of his Troope (like the Great Turk amongst his Jamsaries) drew towards the house, the nine and twentieth of October, like Saul, higher by the head and shoulders than any of his followers." To this sketch a few touches were added by Carew himself, who stated that "Florence is as much addicted to his ease as any man living, and therefore unmeet to be a Rebel." "Pride doth so much possess him, in being called MacCarthy Mor, that his understanding is lost, and not capable of any reason but his own;" Such is his inconstancy, I dare not trust him."

His base brother-in-law Donal MacCarthy thought him "a damned counterfeit Englishman, whose only study and practice it is to deceive and betray all the Irish in Ireland."

This is what Monsieur Laine says of him: "Florence MacCarthy Mor 2me Comte de Clancar, avant son mariage, etait connu sons le titre de Lord de Kinsale. Une taille gigantesque, et les formes herculéennes unies a la heauté et a la majesté des traits; aux jours de combats, le courage du Lion, et le coup d'oeil de l'aigle dans le commandement, une bienveillance et une urbanité naturelles qui ne se démentirent jamais; et qui le fit chérir de tous ceux qui servaient sous ses drapeaux, tel est le portrait que l'histoire a tracé de Florence MacCarthy."

Doctor Charles Smith in his "History of Cork" also speaks of his extraordinary stature and great courage.

Mr. MacCarthy (Glas) tells us that, amongst the chief ornaments of the City of Toulouse, was a portrait of Florence, which is a restoration of a rude portrait of him carried out to France by Justin MacCarthy of Spring House, County Tipperary, in the middle of the 18th century, who was shortly afterwards created Count of Toulouse.

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A Note on Two Megalithic Structures near Gallarus.

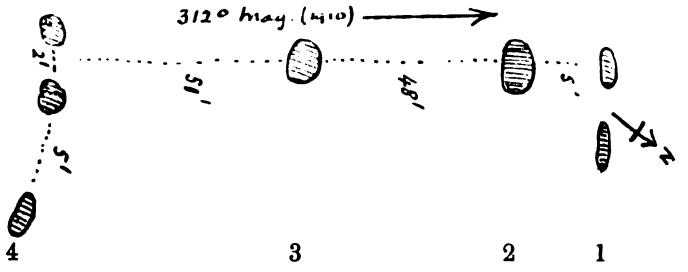
By BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE, F.R.S., F.S.A.,
University College, Cork.

ORCAGUINNY is a district singularly rich in objects of antiquity. Those on its Southern aspect between Kilvickadownig and Coomeenoole have been so exhaustively studied by Professor Stewart Macalister that little or nothing is left to be said about them. But on the North side around Smerwick Bay are a number of objects of great interest some of which, such as Gallerus, Kilmalkedar and the Fort del Ore, have been described time and again, but there are others which have, as far as I know, received no proper consideration at the hands of archæologists. I hope some time to be able to compile a complete list of those objects, with a brief account of them, but that not being now possible, I should like to make a commencement by giving a few notes of two objects both worthy of notice amongst prehistoric monuments.

No. I., as will be seen from the rough plan—in no sense to scale, but merely a diagram—which is annexed, is an alignment with additional stones at its extremities. It is situated on the crest of the hill above Gallerus and close to the left-hand side of the road as

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one travels from Milltown to Gallerus. The stone marked 3 on the plan is a very striking object as one



comes up the hill from Gallerus, in fact it is from that point of view that the whole construction shows up best. The members of the alignment are as follows:— 1. Two small half-buried stones at the northern end of the line. One of these is in line with the other stones; the other lies more to the east. 2. Five feet from this is an upright stone, 5 feet by 2 feet 10 inches by 1 foot in measurement. 3. Forty-eight feet from this (paced feet; I had no tape with me when I made the inspection), is another upright stone, which measures 3 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, and is, as I have already said, a very prominent object when approaching from the north. 4. Fifty-one feet further on, three smaller stones. The axis of the alignment passes between two of these, and the magnetic bearing was 312 degrees last year.

No. II. lies lower down on the northern slope of the hill and near Lateevemore. It is a very fine gallaun or menhir or standing stone, the largest which I have seen in this district. Fig. ii. gives a fair idea of its size. I could not obtain anything long enough to reach up to the top, but it must be about sixteen feet high at least, as my friend who is standing at the side is a man of ordinary stature. It is a large flat slab, 1 foot 6 inches in thickness on the average and 6 feet in breadth. One of its flat surfaces is shown in the photograph; It looks like a narrow pillar when seen

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edgewise. The compass-bearing of the cross-axis was last year 238 degrees Mag.

I made inquiries from several people in the neighbourhood, but none of them knew of any name for this great stone, which seems a curious thing, for one feels that it is big enough and prominent enough to have a name of its own.



GALLAUN AT LATEEVEMORE IN CORKAGUINNY.

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Dolmen in Killaha Parish.

Notes on a Dolmen in Kerry discovered by the Right Rev. Dr. A. A. Orpen, Lord Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe.

By P. J. LYNCH, M.R.I.A.I., Vice-Pres. R.S.A.I.

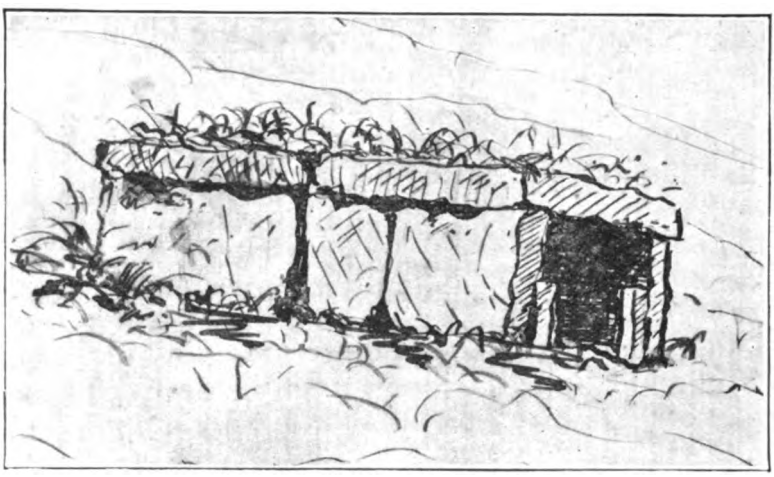
SOME time ago, Dr. Orpen, who has always taken a great interest in the antiquities of Ireland, called my attention to a Cromleac—or to use the more generic term now adopted, a Dolmen—which he had discovered on the mountain side, about two miles north of Morley's Bridge railway station. At the time I was in hopes that I would have some calls to that neighbourhood, when I could measure the Dolmen, and prepare a plan and some details of its construction. Unfortunately, my visits to the outlying districts of Kerry became less frequent about that time, and the desired opportunity never offered.

However, the find is one that should not remain unrecorded any longer, and on my communicating with his Lordship, he was pleased to permit me to forward the particulars with the photograph, for publication in this Magazine.

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In his Lordship's original note to me he states:

I enclose a photograph of the cromleac, taken by the Rev. W. E. Bentley. I first saw the Cromleac when I was quite young, in the years 1854-6, when I was returning from fishing in some lakes in the neighbourhood, and sat down to eat luncheon on this cromleac. I send you a rough sketch of what it was then like. I remember distinctly there



By the Bishop of Limerick.

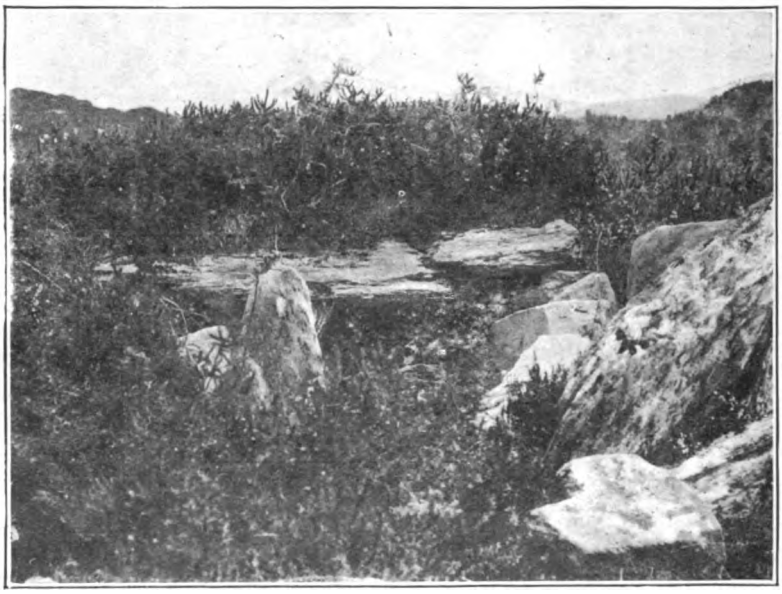
DOLMEN AT KILLAHA AS IT WAS IN 1854 TO 1856.

were two small upright stones placed symmetrically at the opening. It must have taken considerable effort to displace the stones as they are now. On three separate occasions I looked for this Cromleac —at intervals of ten years—and could not find it. It was only a couple of years ago that I was successful. It is another example of cases (mentioned in your paper) where care might have preserved it intact. I have marked the position on the ordnance map as well as I can identify it. I know it was quite near a waterfall on the stream."

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From the photograph it would appear as if the mountain heather has almost completely covered it during the last fifty years.

The Cromleac lies in the Barony of Magunihy, parish of Killaha, townland of Crohane, alongside the stream which divides it from the townland of Derrybanane, and close to the most northern "waterfall" marked on that stream, on the new 6 inch ordnance sheet, No. 85. The elevation is about 616 feet.



Taken by Rev. W. Bentley.

DOLMEN IN KILLAHA PARISH.

This cromleac is not mentioned by Borlase in his "Dolmens of Ireland." I am quite sure there are other dolmens, and interesting ancient monuments, still undiscovered in Kerry, and which would have been brought under notice before now, if our people had received even the most elementary instruction on the subject of Irish antiquities.

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Where identified, the dolmens are generally known as "Druids' altars," "giants' graves," or "Dermot and Graina's bed." It may be of interest to publish in this journal a list of the Dolmens in Kerry extracted from Borlase. The list was compiled chiefly from the original ordnance survey maps, and letters, and the Windele MSS. It is probable that many of those have since disappeared, and it would be a useful work if the resident members of the Kerry Archæological Association would, in their different districts, help to revise this list to date.

In addition to the list, I have myself discovered five other Cromleacs, which I have described in the Journal of R.S.A.I., viz—one at Kildreelig, one at Coom, and one at Meelagulleen, in the parish of Prior; and two at Caherlehillane, in the parish of Killinane, near Caherciveen.

DOLMENS IN COUNTY KERRY.

(From "Dolmens of Ireland," by W. C. Borlase, M.A.)

Barony of Iraghticonnor.

1 in Townland of	Kilconlys,	Parish of	Kilconlys
1 ,, ,,	Ballyline W.,	,, ,,	Aghavallen

Barony of Corkaguiney.

		,, ,,	Ventry
1 in Townland of	Caherard,		
1 ,, ,,	Vicarstown,	,, ,,	Dunquin
1 ,, ,,	Ballyquin,	,, ,,	Cloghane
1 ,, ,,	Smerwick,	,, ,,	Dunurlin
1 ,, ,,	Kilballylahiff,	,, ,,	Killiney
2 ,, ,,	Dromavally,	,, ,,	Ballinvoher
1 ,, ,,	Maumnahaltora,	,, ,,	Kilgobbin
1 ,, ,,	Ballyferriter,	,, ,,	Dunurlin
1 ,, ,,	Ballymacadoyle,	,, ,,	Dingle
1 ,, ,,	Camp	,, ,,	Kilgobbin

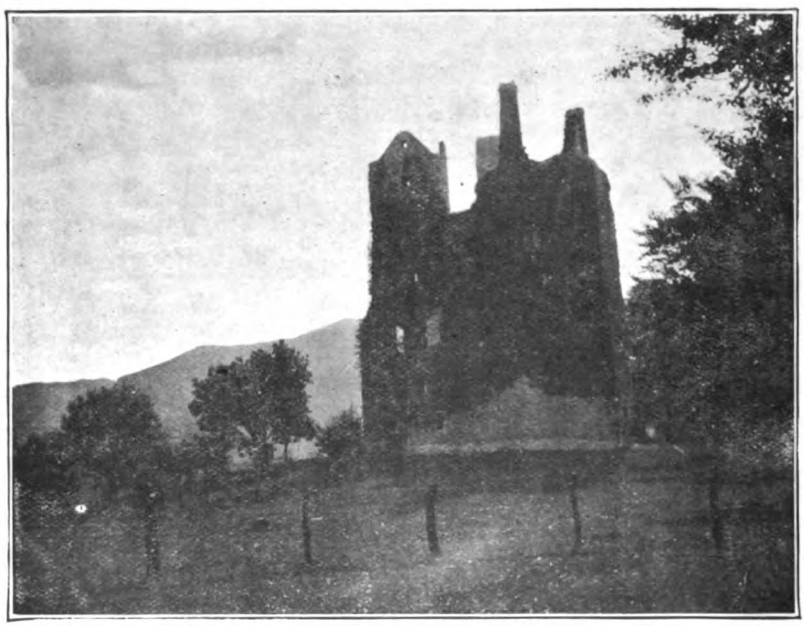
A dolmen called Leacht an Scail, which cannot be located.

Barony of Dunkerron South.

1 in Townland of	Coomatloukane,	Parish of	Kilcrohane
1 near Sneem,		,, ,,	Kilcrohane

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	Barony of Trughenacmy.	
1 in Townland of Annagh,		Parish of Annagh
	Barony of Magunihy.	
1 in Townland of Gortnagane,		,, ,, Kilcummin
1 ,, ,, Foiladuane,		,, ,, Killaha
	Barony of Iveragh.	
1 in the island and		Parish of Valencia
1 in Townland of Ballybrack,		,, ,, Dromod
1 at Caherciveen,		,, ,, Cahir
	Barony of Glenarought.	
1 in Townland of Reenagoppul,		,, ,, Kenmare
1 ,, ,, Lohart,		,, ,, Tuosist



KILLAHA CASTLE, GLENFLESK.

The stronghold of the O'Donoghue of the Glens.

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Some Kerry Fairies.

By LADY GORDON.

TO the Kerryman of a thousand years ago, the mysterious haze stretching away beyond the wonderful islands, thrice fifty in number, to Mag Mell, the happy Other World, a region of alluring beauty, the inhabitants of which, living in a perpetual round of sensuous delights, knew neither death nor decay. To this land,—which it needs but little imagination to picture even to-day in the illusive evening light, across the opal sea, beyond the shadowy Blaskets, the description of which reads so like Euripides'—

"Strand of the daughters of the sunset,
The apple trees, the singing and the gold"—

mortals were occasionally conducted, to the strains of the sweetest music, by a maiden of supernatural beauty bearing in her hand a silver apple branch. In this enchanted region they were allowed to dwell in uninterrupted bliss, on the one condition that if they ever desired to visit their own land again, they must never actually touch the ground of it with their feet; which condition being invariably broken, usually resulted as in the case of Bran by the mortal falling into a heap of ashes "as though he had been on the earth many hundred years."

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While according to the earliest authorities this mythical land of perennial delight was located beyond the Western sea, in other and later legends, belief in which prevails to this day in some parts of Kerry, we find the dwelling place of the Immortals removed to the "fairy mound" in which the Sidhe (Shee), the "people of the hill," live in subterranean palaces, into which mortals have occasionally been known to penetrate, and in which they have found wonderful treasures of gold and silver, and held strange converse with cats and greyhounds which according to tradition possessed, like all animals before the introduction of Christianity, faculties of speech and reason.

Whatever the origin of the Sidhe may be, (according to some authorities they are the spirits of the Tuatha-de-Danaan, while according to others they represent the fallen angels who, cast out of Heaven for their sins, were yet not evil enough for Hell, but were allowed to occupy an intermediate space in Ireland), from the earliest days of Gaelic civilization they have been credited with supernatural powers and a mysterious influence over human beings. In Kerry where credulity in everything, save perhaps in the amiable intentions of the British Government, still flourishes, the belief in fairies has lingered longer than in most parts of the Empire. Unfortunately however, education with its inevitably blighting effect on the imagination, is doing its best, or rather its worst, to undermine it, so that even here where "Pookies" still dance on mossy raths, and the "fairy blast"—as a sudden wind arising on a sultry summer day is called—strikes those foredoomed to die; where "leprechauns" still point the way to hidden treasure, and red-haired "Banshees" shriek their weird warnings; the awe in which the dwellings of these weird and supernatural beings was once held is rapidly dying out, that only the other day I personally supervised the opening up of a "fairy fort" and the cutting down of a "fairy thorn" without a protest by men whose fathers and grandfathers would have flatly declined to lay hands on either.

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So little prepared indeed was I for this act of sacrilege, that it was with a certain amount of trepidation that I had even suggested clearing the ground round the narrow stone-lined entrance, accidentally discovered on the side of one of the two forts situated on the Eastern shore of Caragh Lake. Whatever the original destiny of these forts, which are to be found all over Kerry, may have been; whether they were used for burying places or for storing grain, for centuries at any rate, they have been tenanted, according to tradition, by a fairy race, and so great is,—or rather was—the superstition with which these forts have always been regarded that up till quite recently there was hardly a grown man in Kerry who would venture even in the neighbourhood of one after dark. My surprise can therefore be understood when one of the labourers engaged in the work, after industriously digging round the opening of the cave, suddenly lay down flat on the ground, and crawling on all fours disappeared from sight into the bowels of the earth. None of the other men present exhibiting any concern, I considered it advisable to also maintain an attitude of indifference, although fully conscious that a few years ago such an act would certainly have been attended by alarming consequences. In a few moments however, the man's heels having reappeared, and these being presently followed by his head, I was able to inquire, not only as to his discoveries, but as to the motive which must have induced him to undertake what must, in any case, have been a singularly unpleasant expedition, judging from the condition of his clothes and the spiders' nests reposing on his hair. Unfortunately, as far as his investigations went there was nothing startling to reveal, the long narrow passage being one of five originally leading into a central cave, the roof of which, however, had now fallen in, and as to his motive, much as I regret having to record it, I am obliged to admit that it was wholly and entirely mercenary. "I thought," he replied, as he gingerly removed the woolly nests from

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his head, "there could be money inside"; voicing the tradition of buried treasure which prevails all over Kerry, as well as the altogether modern supremacy of the passion for gain over the power of superstition.

It was after this episode that I felt sufficiently encouraged to suggest the removal of a thorn tree which seriously impeded the view from the house, but to which I had long been resigned, as one resigns oneself to fate and all the immovable circumstances of life. Again however there was no remonstrance, and as the tree fell with a crash on the mossy bank, if any fear of horrible consequences was felt by those present it was felt by me alone, the men who had done the unholy deed resuming their pipes, shouldering their saws and hatchets, and strolling back to their ordinary work. Personally, to this day I never pass the spot where the tree once stood without an almost imperceptible shudder of apprehension, for after all, the thorn is a fairy tree and "Anna Grace" of Sir Samuel Ferguson's ballad is not the only mortal who has been spirited away from her companions by

"the silent fairy crowd,
Like a river in the air gliding round,
Nor scream can any raise, nor prayer can any say,
But wild, wild the terror of the speechless three
For they feel fair Anna Grace drawn silently away
By whom they dare not look to see.

They feel their tresses twine with her parting locks of gold,
And the curls elastic falling, as her head withdraws;
They feel her sliding arms from their tranced arms unfold,
But they dare not look to see the cause.

For heavy on their senses the faint enchantment lies
Through all that night of anguish and perilous amaze,
And neither fear nor wonder can ope their waking eyes
Or their limbs from the cold ground raise;

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Till out of night the earth has rolled her dewy side
With every haunted mountain and streamy vale below,
When as the mists dissolve on the yellow morning tide
The maidens' trace dissolveth so.

Then fly the ghastly three as swiftly as they may,
And tell their tale of sorrow to anxious friends in vain.
They pined away and died within the year and day,
And ne'er was Anna Grace seen again."

Where such a tragic fate overtook poor Anna Grace and her three companions, who after all had only been guilty of dancing beneath the fairy thorn, one may perhaps be pardoned for feeling a certain apprehensiveness when it comes to cutting one down. As a matter of fact, however, the punishment for such a deed, if unpleasant, does not appear as severe as might be expected, judging by another poem (by Allingham), in which we read of fairies who—

Have planted those trees
For pleasure here and there.
Is any man so daring
As dig them up in spite,
He shall find their sharpest thorns
In his bed at night.

Altogether, seeing the vindictive nature of fairies and their uncompromising attitude towards transgressors of their laws, it is perhaps as well that, although still inhabiting the earth, they should be gradually losing something of their power. At the same time, if the wholesome awe usually connected with the supernatural element in life, appears to be dying out, on the principle of the Kerry man who denied the power of the priest to turn him into a rat, but who all the same took the precaution of shutting up the cat at night,—a certain respect for the fairies still prevails, which is as well, for if in the past they have displayed an altogether uncharitable tendency to take babies out of their cradles and to substitute for them fairy changelings of uncertain temper, to lure newly-married women away

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from their husbands, leaving counterfeit copies in their places, to administer blows to strong men which resulted in paralysis and blindness, to bewitch cows so that their milk fails, and to blight and destroy whole crops of potatoes,—it must be remembered that they are also capable of rewarding virtue, as in the case of Hanafin and his cows, one of the many delightful fairy tales collected in Kerry by the late Mr. Jeremiah Curtin.

Hanifin, it appears, was a farmer living near Dingle, owning a large herd of cows which were driven up every morning to be milked in front of the house. It happened however that for several days the tub into which the milk was poured by the girls was mysteriously overturned and the milk spilled. Hanifin's wife was naturally excessively indignant, but in spite of every precaution the milk continued to be upset. One morning however, as Hanifin was walking along the road past a fairy fort, he heard a child crying inside it and a woman's voice saying "Be quiet a while. Hanafin's cows are going home; we'll soon have milk in plenty." Now Hanafin being a wise man, said nothing, but went home and personally supervised the milking, with the result that on the usual overturning of the tub he stopped his wife in the middle of her scolding by telling her it was no fault of the girl, who on this occasion had been pushed by one of the cows against the tub. "Leave it to me," he said. "I'll try and manage this business."

The following morning, on hearing the child crying again in the fort, he "like the brave man that he was" went inside. He saw no one, but he said "A child is crying for milk. A cow of mine will calve to-morrow. I'll let no one milk that cow; you can do what you like with her milk." The tub was never turned over again, and for two years Hanafin prospered in every way, taking good care of the cow, and never letting a girl or a woman milk her. Unfortunately however, Hanafin being a Kerryman, was also soft-hearted, and some of his neighbours getting into trouble, he went security

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for them, with the result that the creditors came down on him, and the bailiff arrived one day in order to drive off his cattle. Hanafin thereupon repaired to the fairy fort and said, "I'm going to lose all my cattle, but I'll try to keep the cow I gave you, and feed her still, so that the child may have the milk."

Three bailiffs came, and went down to the pasture across the field, but when they drove the cows up as far as the fairy fort—"each bailiff was caught and thrown hither and over by people he couldn't see; one moment he was at one side of the ditch and the next minute on the other side. They were so roughly handled and bruised that they were hardly alive, and they not seeing who or what was doing it. The cattle raising their tails, bawled and ran off to the pasture." The following morning ten policemen and bailiffs went to take Hanafin's cattle, with however identically the same result, "so that they barely left the place alive." Never again did police or bailiffs meddle with Hanafin's cows, and above all, the creditors never collected the money.

Occasionally the fairies, being Irish, display a certain sense of humour, as in the case of John Connors, a farmer who lived near Killarney, whose delight was so great on being presented by his wife, after seven daughters, with a son. that he broke his spade in the ditch for joy and started off to the next parish to find sponsors for the Christening, not considering anybody in his own parish worthy of the honour. He had however not gone very far before he met a stranger riding on a white horse, attired in red knee-breeches, a swallow-tailed coat, and a tall hat, who asked him where he was going.

"I'm going," said Connors, "to Beaufort to find sponsors for my young son."

"Oh, you foolish man," said the stranger, "you left the road a mile behind you. Turn back and take the left hand."

John Connors, having done as directed, had not

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ridden very far along the new road, when he met the same gentleman again, who once more re-directed him on his way. As a matter of fact, all that night he kept meeting the stranger, who finally invited him to his house, and insisted on his staying with him till the morning. Once Connors was asleep the stranger took his clothes, formed a corpse the exact imitation of the owner, put the clothes on it, tied the body to the horse, and leading it outside, turned its head towards home, keeping Connors himself in bed for three weeks.

The horse in due course found its way home, and the people seeing the corpse on its back, took it for Connors, to whom they gave a great wake that night, "everybody mourning and lamenting over him, for wasn't he a good man and the father of a large family." Three weeks later Connors was awakened by his host and told to go home.

"But where are my clothes?" asked Connors, sitting up in bed and looking round him.

"I know nothing of your clothes," said the stranger, "and the sooner you get out of this the better."

"But God help us," said Connors, "how am I to go home without my clothes? If I had a shirt itself it wouldn't be so bad; but to go without a rag at all on me!"

"Don't be talking," said the man; "take a sheet and be off with you. I have no time to lose on the like of you."

John being afraid of the man, took the sheet and went out. Now it is the custom in Ireland when anybody dies to sprinkle Holy Water on the clothes of the deceased and to give them for God's sake to the poor, thereby ensuring having them for their own use in another world; so that when John Connors appeared in his native town in a sheet the people who saw him, on recovering from the shock, rushed to his wife and accused her of not having given his clothes to the poor, since his ghost was roaming about in nakedness.

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"Indeed," said the wife. "I did give them away; it must be that the man I gave them to didn't wear them to Mass, and that is why my poor husband is naked in the other world." Whereupon she went for the neighbour and proceeded to revile him.

"Bad luck to you, you heathen," said she. "I did not think you the man to leave my poor John naked in the other world. You neither went to Mass in the clothes I gave you nor sprinkled Holy Water on them."

The neighbour having however proved to her satisfaction that he had performed all the necessary rites over the garments, the widow returned home, only to receive that some night a visitation from the ghost. Overcome with terror, she hid herself and her children under the bed-clothes, leaving John tapping at the window while she offered prayers for the repose of his soul.

Wherever Connors appeared it was always with the same result; even the doctor, having seen him through the window, refused to open the door for him. At last he betook himself to the priest, whose housekeeper, having opened the door, fell in a fit on the stairs on seeing the apparition. The priest hearing the noise, ran out, and finding himself face to face with the ghost of the corpse over whom he had said Mass, refused to believe that he was alive.

"If you are," said he, "where are your clothes?"

"I don't know where they are," said Connors, "or how they went from me, but I haven't them sure enough."

"Go into the kitchen," said the priest; "I'll bring you clothes, and then you must tell me what happened to you."

Connors having related his adventures,—"'Tis Daniel O'Donoghue, the fairy chief, King of Loughlein (Killarney), that played the trick on you," said the priest. "Why didn't you get sponsors at home in this parish for your son as you did for your daughters?" And having duly admonished him for his pride and

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wilfulness, the priest accompanied him to his wife's house, where in answer to their knocking they were only met with renewed prayers for the repose of Connors' soul. After some time, however, the priest prevailed on her to open the door, and finally succeeded in convincing her that her husband was really then in the flesh. Once restored to the bosom of his family, it is not surprising to hear that after all his adventures in the sheet, "no matter how large his family was in after years, John Connors never went from home again to find sponsors."

Taking it all round, it would be a drab world if there were no fairies in it, no supernatural region where nothing is too preposterous to occur, for in spite of the fact that we live in a proverbially materialistic age, for each of us individually this land takes shape according to our own imaginings; but whether we locate it in this world or in the next, and whether we call its inhabitants fairies or not, matters little, the essential fact remains that earth-bound humanity seeking to escape from the sordid cares and anxieties of every-day life still dreams in one form or another of a world of fantastic happenings. Certainly one cannot imagine Kerry without her fairies, beautiful mysterious Kerry, where, if anywhere, the fairies

"Live on crispy pancakes of yellow tide foam:
Some in the reeds of the black mountain lake.
With frogs for their watch-dogs all night awake."

And where—

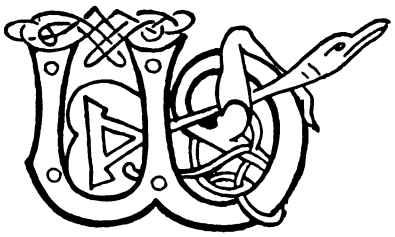
"Up the airy mountain,
Down the rushy glen,
We daren't go a-hunting
For fear of little men.
Wee folk, good folk,
Trooping all together;
Green jacket, red cap,
And white owl's feather."

EDITH GORDON.

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The Civil Survey.

A CROMWELLIAN RECORD.



E are all familiar with the general idea of Cromwell's policy of driving the Irish to Hell or Connaught, and parcelling out the rest of Ireland amongst English and foreign colonists. As a step in this scheme his Government proceeded to take an account of the lands to be confiscated, and in 1654 Commissioners were appointed to that end, and prosecuted their enquiries in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster. The result was "The Civil Survey." A large portion of this intensely interesting document was burned in the disastrous fire of 1711, in which so many ancient records of Ireland stored in the Dublin Council Chamber were destroyed. Amongst the volumes so lost was that for the County Kerry, but some time ago, in searching through the muniments of title of Mr. Gun of Rattoo, I was fortunate enough to discover an ancient copy of part of this valuable survey relating to portion of the parishes of Rattoo, Dysert, and Killury, and on examination by the Public Record archivists its authenticity was established, and Mr. Gun magnanimously presented same to the Public Record Office, who gave him a duly certified copy, from which the following was transcribed by me, and for the accuracy of which I accept full responsibility

Perhaps other portions may be discovered amongst the archives of some other Kerry families and treated in the same enlightened way as Mr. Gun dealt with his copy, or at least made available to the topographical student through the medium of this magazine or otherwise.

MATTHEW J. BYRNE.

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COUNTY OF KERRY. BARONY OF CLONMORIS.

Names of Proprietors and their Qualifications.	Denominations of Lands.	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable and the Quality of it.	Lands unprofitable and waste.	Value of the said Lands as they were in 1640.
	Rathtowe Parish				£ s. d.
Col. Edmond Fitzmorris Irish Papist	Ayle ½ Plowld	025 : 0 : 00	Arable 015 Pasture 010		03 : 00 : 00

THIS LAND is meared on the north side with the River of Cassane on the East side with a lane and a Ditch Dividing the premisses from the Lands of Ardcullen (Part of Mr. Stoughtons Estate) on the South side with a ditch leading from the said lands unto a well called Tobberboane, and on the West with a Gutter strikeing westward of the said Lands of AYLE into the said River of Cassane There is on the Premisses a peece of a thatched house with a chimney in one end thereof. This land owes suite and service to ye Ld. of Keirys Courts.

IDEM	DROMARTEENE 40 Acres	090; 0 : 00	Arable 050 Pasture 030	Redd Bogg } 010		18: 00: 00

THE SAID LANDS doe meare on the east with a ditch between it and the lands of Corrabbally and Cnockinkneeneone which ditch leads along till it comes to a Brooke called Crompanemarteene southwards and from thence by a gutter that leads on the west side to a spring called Glassi Vallyfadoigie which runns betwixt it and the Lands of Ballyencrossigg, and the Lands of Tullaghny and on the north side with a ditch that leads betwixt it & Kilury pish by a great redd bogg this land is Included in Sr David Bourks mortgage of Col. Edmond Fitz Morris this Proprietrs Estate.

John McJames Peirs John McMaurice Peirs Maurice) McRichd Peirs Irish) Papists	BALLEABRENIGG One pld.	160: 0: 00	Arble 100 Pasture 0()	———	20: 00: 00

THE SAID LANDS do bound on the east side with a running spring which Divids it and the Lands of

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Rahielly abovesaid and Glanerdallaffe, & on the south side with a lane leading from the said spring westward betwixt it and the lands of Corbelly (Part of the Estate of John Peirs) & from thence still westward by a ditch leading to a great Redd Bogg called Perlaghmore and from thence northward by a spring between it and the Lands of Adergoule abovesaid (Part of Mr. Raymonds Estate) and from thence into the abovesaid Spring where it began and ends there is on this land a good thatched house with two Poynant ends and two chimneys valued at 20l ster the said John McJames Proprietor of three parts of this land it being divided into five, and the said three parts is Ingaged to Morice ORyedy Papt Deceased for the sume of £40 (as was deposed) Wee are Informed that the other two parts of this land belonging to John McMaurice and Maurice McRichard Peirs are Ingaged to the abovesaid John Mc(Jam)es for the sume of () ter Coll () Rent per annum : 6s. 8d. Rings Rent 7s. 8d. Cheife Rent to the Knigt of Kerry () and Cheife Rent () of Bally McQuin 3s.

COUNTY OF KERRY. BARONY OF CLANMORIS.

Names of Proprietors & the Qualifications	Denominations of Lands.	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable & ye quantity of it.	Lands unprofitable and wast.	Value of the sd Lands as they were in 1640.
					£ s d
Nicholas Peirs Irish Papist	Cnockmck-neeneene by old measure 20 acres	075: 0: 00	Arable 035 Pasture 020	Redd Bogg 020	10: 0C: 00

THIS LAND is bounded on the east side by a Ditch that leads along between it, and the lands of Corbally Ballynoe and Clownelogher (Part of John Fitz James Peirs his estate) in this parish and this Ditch leads sowthwards to the abovesaid Brooke or watter called Crompane Marteene which water divids the Premisses and the Parish of Killtomy at that place and from thence westward by a ditch betweene it and the Lands of Dromarteene & on the north side by another ditch that divides the premisses and the lands of Dromarteene

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aforesaid and Corbally; On this land is an old thatched house with 2 chimneys valued at 06[11]

						£ s. d.
IDEM	LISSNEGOUNENY by old estimation 40 acres	072: 00: 00	Arable 050 Pasture 010	Red Bogg	012	15: 00: 00

THIS LAND does meare and bound on the east side with a gutter or running spring in avally betwixt it and the lands of Glannerdallaffe (Part of John Fitzgerald Esqr. his estate) in this parish which leads into a gutter southward of the same And on the South with the said Gutter leading to a ditch westwards of the said Lands of Lissnegonyny between it and the lands of Corbally abovesaid which shutes all along to a land Northward of the same between it and the lands of Ballinbreaigg abovesaid being the bounds thereof on the north side there is a small corne Mill now in repaire on the Premisses vallued at 6[11]

						£ s. d.
Morris McDaniell als McDaniell of Rathtwoe Irish Papist	Cnockerduffe, Tyrenewhy, Clowneighbeg, Gurtnemucke, Gurtermonee, Ballysheane, and the 20 Acres Old Estima in and about Rathtwoe, 2 pds.	52C: 0: 00	Arable 240 Pasture 140	Redd Bogg	140	60: 00: 00

THE PREMISSES doe bound on the East Side with a River or water called Brooke and Southward by the water untill it comes to a brooke called Crompanemarteene, and on the south side with the said Companemarteene, which divids that and the lands of Muckenagh (Part of the Lord of Keirys Estate) in the Parish of Killury out of which water leads a gutter Northward to a Lane called Bohir Cnockduffe and from thence by a Running Spring which divids the premisses and the lands of Glanerdallaffe (belonging to the Knt. of Keiry) which lands leads along westward of Knockerduffe betwixt it and a parcell of John Fitzgeralds land aforesaid and on the north partly with a small Creeke of Water called

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Lurgaraha leading from the Abby of Roththwoe and alsoe with a double Quicksett Ditch Leading Northwards of the said lands, and likewise with a lane Northwards of GarteMone Part of the Premisses and north of Clowneighbeg () Knockerduffe by a ditch between it and the comons or Pasture called Sleanmore, on the premisses there is two chimney (h) ouses Thatched to () chard fenced with a quicksett Ditch the said Houses are vallued at 10l there () out of the () p annum which is Bpp Rent Mortgaged to Coll Crosbey since the ()ion ()

COUNTY OF KERRY. BARONY OF CLANMORIS.

Names of Proprietors and their Qualifications	Denominations of Lands.	Number of Acres by Estimacon	Lands profitable and the Quality of them	Lands unprofitable & waste	Value of the said Lands as they were in 1640
					ll s d
Morris McDaniell als. M:Daniell of Rathtwoe	Gortentample, Gortnetony, Gortencrehy, Gort McCarrollmore, Gortlenebegg,				
Irish Papist	Gort, McCarrollbegg, with severall gardens and Tenemts, in the Towne & Burgery of Rathtwoe with a Proportion of the Comons thereunto belonging.	549: 0: 00	Arable 009 Pasture 100	Mount hea } 200 Redd Bogg } 240	10: 00: 00

THE LANDS OF Gortecrehy and Gortnetony being arable Land are bounded and Inclosed with a Double ditch on the North and west side betwixt it and the lands of Bpps Court on the East and south sides between it and other lands of the Burgery of Rattwoe with a pathway The said Gortentampnell with a Ditch on the East and Southsides between it and the Towne of Rathtwoe and on the North and West sides with a Pathway between it & Gortensta, Gortengeragh and Aureenvolir Percells of Mr. Stoughtons Lands the said Gort McCarrollmore Gort McCarrollbegg with a Double Quicksett Ditch round about it, the said Gortlenebegg with a Ditch on the East

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between it and Gortlenemore, belonging to the said Mr. Anthony Stoughton, on the South by a ditch between it and the Towne of Rathtwoe, and on the west side with a ditch and lane between it and Gort McCarrollbegg and on the North with a ditch between it and Toberkerane, the said garden Plotts and Tenemts with a kind of a Ditch round about distinguishing them from other lands of the said Towne of Rathtwoe, The said Mountaine is meared and bounded on the east side with a ditch between it and the Lands of Bishopps. Court and the Land called Burgesland on the Southside with a ditch between it and the lands of Clowneiagh, Cnockerdufte and Raheilly on the West side by a Gutter leading to a ford called Adoyne, and from thence through a great Redd Bogg to a place or ground marke called Screllaghbaune which divids this Parish and the Parish of Killury and (on) the north side with a gutter Leading from thence to a ditch betweene it and Memnemore (Part of Mr. Stoughtons (l) and) by which the same is bounded in this Quarter, the said Pasture Marsh and Redd Bogg is meered with a Creeke called Gehyrahy on the North side on the East with the River of Cassane, to the Island called Insynenoge to a gutter called Lyerewturatten wch. Gutter leads southward to another gutter called Lahaghencurrigg which striks into the River of Brock on the south, And on the Southside with a Crompane or Brooke called Crampane Marteene, and a great Ditch leading betwixt it and the Lands of Crean and Bishops Court abovesaid. Wee are Informed that Gortlenebeg Gort McCarrollbegg are Ingaged to John McDaniel Ir Papt for the sume of 20^{li} long before the Rebellion and that the 4th Part of Gort McCarrollmore, Gortenteampnill; Gortenery Gortnecrony and the said Gardenplotts and Tenements are Ingaged to Thomas McDaniell the Eldest Irsh. Papt. before the Warrs for the sume of £10 ster.

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COUNTY OF KERRY. BARRONY OF CLANMORIS

Names of Proprietors and their Qualifications	Denominations of Lands	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable & the Quality of it.	Lands unprofitable and waste.	Value of ye said Lands as they were in 1640.
	RATHTWOE PARISH				
Patrick Peirs of Aghamore	Crotta and 4 Parcells within the Burgary of Rattwoe and one Tenemt, called ffohoragh McPatrick wth Garden Plotts thereto belonging called Garry Patrick wth one more Tenement	04. 0. 00	Arable 004		£ s. d. 01: 00: 00
Irish Papist					

THIS LAND OF CROTTA is meared with a Ditch round about which Divids it from other lands Vizt. Gurtenmore and the aforesaid Lands of 20 Acres Part of McDaniells Estate the other 4 Parcells are bounded with a ditch on the East side and North East and South with severall Pathways Distinguishing it from other lands belonging to Lieut. Col. Stoughton-and McDaniell in the said Burgary there is a Thatched Cabben, on the said Tenement and the said Plott of Garden hath a Ditch round about it Distinguishing that from other Garden Plotts in the said Towne of Rathtwoe This proprietor hath Two House Roomes nere the west end of the Church of Rathtwoe These 4 Parcells above said are part of the Burgess Land of Rathtwoe and the Inhabitants of the said Parcell from time to time had Libertie of Pastureing in the Comons of Rathtwoe proportionable as wee are Informed.

	DEYSART PARISH.					£ s d
Edmond Fitzmorris	Clonecally, Cahirswiny	059: 0: 00	Meadow 004 Arable 040	Redd Bogg	0006	20: 00: 00
Irish Papist	and Killowraine ½ plowed		Pasture 010			

THE SAID LAND does meare on the south by Crihenvoggig leading southward by a pathway to to Carraghenfryaghane and through the same by a Little Road Westward to the Backemeare of

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Cahirsuny aforesaid and by the said bank on the west northwards to the said Carraghenfryaghane and in the middle of the same by a Right Line from the said bank on the north to another called Kiliclulen lane aforesaid which leades Eastward to a gutter called Lahackanaght and thence by a Crossgutt mearing betwixt Ballighowranghane & Cluencalloe aforesaid till it reaches in the east and meets with a Turfe Pitt called Purtagh Ballyhowraghane and from thence to the aforesaid Criggenvoggig where it began. It is alledged that Cluonecally () mortgaged to the Lady Honora Keiry since the Rebellion for 20[li] Ster.

COUNTY KERRY. BARONY CLANMORIS.

Names of the Proprietrs and their Qualifications	Denomination of Lands	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable and ye quality of it.	Lands unpfitable and waste.	Value of ye sd Lands as they were in 1640
	KILLURY PARISH				£ s d
Col. Edmond Fitzmorris Irish Papist	Myneconine 1 pt. plow.Ld.	48 0: 00:	Able. 018	Barren Mountaine. 030	06: 0: 0

THIS LAND does meare on the South by the Mayne Sea on the east by a banke betwixt it & Ardae (belonging to Roe Browne) next to it adjoyning, which bank leads southwards to a place called Aghnahulloe on the South from thence by a running spring betwixt it an Ballymescryney untill it meets on the west point a little valley by which the said Spring doth Direct its Course northwards to ye above sea where it began.

					£ s d
The said Coll. Fitzmorris Irish Papist	Dyrerahabegg 7 acres.	07: 0: 00	Arable 003 Pasture 004	——	01: 10: 00

THE SAID LANDS Doe meare on the East by a little banke betwixt it & Derryrahamore leading southwards to another Bank which on the south meets a little brooke which bank and brooke divids it & ye Lands of Farrenencuogg (belonging to Mr. Stoughton) on the south and west & leads northwards to the River of

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Cassane by which River it meares on the north untill it comes to the above first mentioned Banke where it begann for ye sume for which () Edmond Fitzmorris his estate is Ingaged to Sr. David Bourke (Ir. Papt. Wee referr to the book of Claimes.

John Browne of Classmoelcon deceased Irish Papist	Classmoelcon & Arduoghter 2 plow Lds.	272: 0: 00	Arable 140 Pasture 002	Mount Barren 100 Redd Bogg 030	30: 00: 00

THE SAID LANDS doe meare on the East by a banke leading southwards from the sea betwixt the said Lands & Kilmore belonging to Sr. John Crosbey untill it reaches a place where is a spring that goes along to another place called Loblaghlin & from thence by a Gutt through a Redd Bogg to the east end of Curraghnegon and on the south from thence to a stone called Gallenegeare betwixt the premisses and Addergoule in the Parish of Rathoe (belonging to Mr. Raymond) and from the said stone by a gutter leading westward through a Redd Bogg to a lane called Boherbane and another place called Cnockanenemalagh on the west till it meets a bank mearing betwixt the premises & Mineconyne in in this Parish and by the said bank northwards untill it reaches the sea which on the North is the true meare () premisses to () said bank there is a short butt of a castle on the premisses.

COUNTY OF KERRY. BARONY CLONMORIS.

Names of Proprietors & their Qualifications	Denomination of Lands.	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable and ye Quality of ym.	Lands unprofitable and waste	Value of ye said Lands as they were in 1640.
					£ s d
Roe Browne and William Browne Irish Papists	Ardae ¾ Plow Lds	100: 0: 00	Arable 045 Pasture 005	Mount Baron 020 Redd Bogg 030	10: 00: 00

THE SAID LANDS doe meare on the east by a cutt or trench in the Ground betweene it and Ardergoule aforesaid leading to Poulencroe and from thence by a Gutt shuteing southward to a Turffe Pitt called Beallscorny

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and from thence on the south by a bank betwixt the premisses and Ballingaime belonging to Coll Edmond Fitzmorris called Clynonarke reaching westward to Aghnohullo and from thence to the west by a banke shuteing northwards to a lane called Bohirbainre and by the said lane on the north untill it turns in the Easte Souuthwards to the abovesaid Cutt where it began Roe Browns part of the said lands being 25 acres (by old estimacon) is mortgaged to James Peirs Ir. Papt. for the sume of 40[11] This land ows to the above said John Browne as cheife Rent yearely (or his heires) the sum of 13s: 04.

						£ s d
Thomas McEdmond Peirs. Irish Papist	Mineogohane 2 Plow Ld. & ¼ Parts	265: 0: 00	Arable 160	Mount Baren 100 Redd Bogg 005		040:00:00

THE SAID LANDS doe meare on the east by a Banke and Pathway mearing betwixt the said Lands & Ballyneskiny and Graigentlea aforesaid & leading southward to an other Bank which on the south side divids the premisses Cahirenduffe & Clandereies belonging to Sr. John Crossbey and by the said banke shuteing westward to the ()pe of Stones called Laghtnegunbaune, on the West by a Banke 'twixt the said Lands and Cloghanesene ()longing to Sr. John Crossbey and partly by a little spring running Northward to the sea & on the North by () a little spring directing eastward to the above said bank where it begann & in that quarter mearing twixt the premisses and Menyconine (belonging to Col. Edm. Fitzmorris) The said land is Ingaged to John Pe() Ballinbreanagh Ir. Papist for the shume of 40[11] ster And Thoms. Peirs Ir. Papt. for the sume of £20: ster there is on ye premisses an old broaken house with Two chimneys Two cabbins & an old Butt of a Castle not valuable, Kings Rent due yearely out of the premisses 3[11].3s.9d.

Capt. Garrett McShane of Licke Irish Papist	Farren Edmond 5 Acres	05: 0: 00	Arable 005		0I: 05: 00

THE SAID LANDS Doe meare and bound on the East

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with a Pathway between it & Bpps Court aforesaid on the South side ()h a double ditch between it & the said lands on the Northside with another ditch between it and the lands of Bpps. Court & on ye () side wth. a double Ditch that divids it & the Lands of Minmore pt. of Mr. Stoughtons Lands there is a freedome of Pastureing belonging to () lands on the comons. of the Burgary of Rathtwoe.

COUNTY OF KERRY. BARRO CLONMORIS.

Names of Proprietors and their Qualifications	Denominations of Lands.	Number of Acres by Estimation	Lands Profitable & the quality of them	Lands unprofitable and waste.	Value of ye said lands as they were in 1640.
					£ s d
Richard Stacke of Cloghane Irish Papist	Cloghane ⅜ pts. plow ld.	40: 0: 00	Arable 022 Pasture 006	Monnt Low & Barren 012	08: 00: 00

THE SAID LANDS doe meare and bound on the east by a Bank & Oldway betwixt it & Cnoppoge pt of the said Lt. Col. Stoughtons Estate the said Bank and highway leading southwards to Knallaghnane & from thence on the south by a Bank & a Gutt through a redd bogg mearing betwixt it & Slememore aforesaid & shuteing westward to a parcell of land called Ardoughtir belonging to John Browne, where the said gutter meets another gutter which on the west Leads to a Bank shuteing Northwards to a lane called Bogher-cloghane as abovesaid & on the North by the said Lane untill it meets the sd. Banke where it begann there is a broaken chimney house on the pemisses of noe vallue composition Rent yearely of the Lands 3s. 4d. Kings Rent in Staffords Time 4s. Bpps. Rent 9d.

						£ s d
Garrett FitzJohn of Luke Irish Papist	Dyrryrahue 1⅜ pte. of a plow Ld	07½	0: 0:	Arable 005 Pasture 002½		002: 00: 00

THIS LAND does meare and bound on the North by the River of Cassane and from thence on the east by a Banke betwixt it and ffarrenvogie Part of Lieut Col. Stoughtons Estate shuteing southwards to a Running Spring which on the South Leads westward to a Banke

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wch. divids it & Diryrohybegg Part of () Edmond Fitzmorris his Estate on the west and by the said Bank northwards to ye Quarter of () aforesaid.

) Robert Fitzmorris Irish Papist	Farren McLawrus ½ Plow Ld.	16: 0: 00	Arable 013 Pasture 003	(.....)	(.....)

THE SAID LANDS doe meare and bound on the east by a banke leading southwards betwixt it & Cloghane belonging to Richard Stacke which lane on the South meets the lane of Cloghane aforesaid directing Westward to a Bank wch. Divids the Premisses and other lands in that Parish called Killmore () nging to Sir John Crossbey and by the said Bank northwards to the River of Cassane which on (....) North is () meares to the first above mentioned banke.

COUNTY OF KERRY. BARRONY OF CLONMORIS.

Names of Proprietors and theirQualifications	Denominations of Lands	Number of Acres by Estimacon	Lands Profitable and the qualitie of them	Lands unprofitable & waste.	Value of ye said lands as they were in 1640
					ll s d
Col. Edmond Fitz Morris Irish Papist	KILLURY PARISH. Colim by old Estimacon ⅛ Plow Ld.	037: 00: 00	Arrable 034 Posture 003		£10: 00: 00

THE SAID LANDS doe meare on the east by a banke betweene it and ffurrenenruogie (Part of Lieut. Collee. Stoughtons Land) and on the South by the Lane comonly called Bogherclogh ane on the West by a banke betweene it & ffarrentLaurence belonging to this Proprietr. a Parcell of the said Parish and by the said Bank northwards to the River of Cassane which on the North is the true meare untill it meets the above mentioned first bank where it began.

The afore mentioned particulars are a True coppie for so much of the Civill Survey taken of the County & Barony aforesaid Remaining on Record in Her Maties Surveyors Generalls Office.

Pet. Gueri(n)
(Deputy Surveyor General)

A true copy
James Mills
D.K.R.
19 Decr. 1905.

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General Meeting.

A MEETING of the Association was held on the 17th of October last in the Killarney Town Hall, by kind permission of the Earl of Kenmare, who presided. There were some 200 persons present from all parts of Kerry.

The Earl of Kenmare, in opening the meeting, stated that the Kerry Archæological Association had started three years ago, and had been steadily growing ever since. He thought that everything which would call attention to the work of the Association should be done as soon as possible, and for that reason the meeting had been called. His Lordship continued—"Our learned friend, Dr. Windle, has come from Cork at great personal inconvenience, to speak to us on this subject; also Mr. Butcher. I think we shall all agree that something must be done quickly if we wish to have the objects of antiquarian interest in which this county abounds preserved, as so many of them are in danger of demolition at present. The resolution which I call on Mr. Butcher to lay before you will probably rouse interest in the matter."

Mr. S. H. Butcher, M.P., who was greeted with applause, said:—The resolution which I have to lay before you is: "That the Kerry Archæological Association is worthy of public support, and residents in the county are invited to increase the membership." My remarks must necessarily be of a general kind, as

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I have not made a study of the archæology of this country. In the first place I must point out that we ought to have a larger roll of membership. First that we may have sufficient funds to carry on the magazine successfully, and also to carry on some excavations in Kerry. (Applause). At the outset I think we ought to thank Miss Hussey for having formed the Association and got it on so well, doing nearly all the work connected with it, and editing the magazine. Miss Hussey is well qualified for this work, having studied not only the History of Kerry, but the History and Archæology of other countries. There are, however, few, if any, more interesting spots from an antiquarian point of view in the British Islands than this county of ours. Kerry may be poor in money, but it is very rich in relics of the past. It is the most opulent county in Ireland in materials for archæological study, and I think that Kerry men and Kerry women ought to come women forward and protect their antiquities to the best of their power. I am sorry to say I am not an expert in Keltic Studies, but you will soon hear Dr. Windle, who has made a special study of them, and who will put forward practical suggestions as to the preservation of the monuments of Kerry at this critical time in its history. One thing, however, I should like to impress upon you, and that is the great importance of noting the smallest details in all ancient objects and structures. It is sometimes the minutest details that have brought to light the most important facts. When apparent trifles are noted they often seem to convey no information, but when these are compared with what has been noticed, say, in some other part of Europe, their meaning becomes at once apparent. You may perhaps remember a distinguished Italian who visited Kerry some years ago. He had personally excavated a good deal in Rome, and had come to some very old foundations which puzzled him. They presented details that he had not seen before, although he was well acquainted with most of the archæological discoveries

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in Europe. Had never been to Ireland, but had read a good deal about it, and especially about Kerry; so he came here, and was intensely interested. He discovered several characteristics in some of the buildings, and also in "forts," which explained things in other countries which up to then had not been understood. Peculiarities which were till then difficult to understand when compared with details noticed in Ireland were at once comprehensible, and things discovered in Ireland were explained by those found in other parts of Europe. A great deal has been learnt in recent times from discoveries made in Southern Europe and the nearer East. Legends which were formerly supposed to be mere myths are shown by excavations to be true history, and have been amplified and explained by excavations in Greece, Crete, and elsewhere, and the knowledge gained by such discoveries is beyond all value. We may not find such vast palaces and temples in our own land, but we can doubtless learn much of the past history of our country from the objects that remain. I may mention one which occurs to me at this moment, and that is a curious old book made of the bark of a birch tree by some ingenious fellow-countryman of ours. This book was used by a shopkeeper in Dingle so late as the 18th century, from which we may gather that paper was scarce there at that time, and that birch trees were at least not unknown. In conclusion, I may say that I hope this meeting may result in an increased number of members and more help being given towards the objects for which this Association was formed. (Applause).

Miss Hussey, Hon. Secretary and Editor, was warmly greeted, and said:—I want to ask if all here will try to help our work in some way. You cannot all, I know, pay subscriptions, but I do not think there are any here who could not be of some little help to us. Most of you, I think, live within walking distance of some fort or ruin or carved stone, and you can measure it and tell me about it, or send me the measurements

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and the name of the place where it stands, and if there are more than one, then I should like to know their distance apart. And another thing you can do is to prevent your friends and neighbours from pulling down these ruins or breaking up these large carved stones, and also from writing their names on them. All that will be as useful as if you paid subscriptions.

Dr. Windle, President of the Cork University College, was received with loud applause, and proposed the following resolution: "That it is of urgent importance that steps should be taken at the present time to preserve the existing monuments of antiquity, in view of the transfer of property." Dr. Windle said it gave him the greatest possible pleasure to propose this resolution. Speaking to it, he would like to impress upon them the necessity of preserving the objects of interest now existing in Kerry, of which there are plenty, especially in the Dingle peninsula. "I may say without hesitation that there is no place so rich as Dingle in antiquities. There is only one other place that I know of at all like it, and that is Cornwall. There we have a striking resemblance to the Dingle district. Such sites as Kilmelchedor, Gallerus, and other spots in that neighbourhood may reveal much of the ancient history of the country, and I consider that active steps should now be taken to preserve them, as the land is passing from the landlords to the tenants. I should like to mention a case which came to my knowledge in Cork. A very fine specimen of antiquity, and one which might havev given us much information, was pulled down and used as a quarry for the purpose of building a dwelling-house. Some people do not know that these things are of interest or value and should not be destroyed. The Board of Works, however, has some of these monuments under its care. In Cork the County Council have taken an excellent step, and have appointed a committee consisting of members of their own body and other people to look after the monuments in the county. The County

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Councils have also power to find money for this object. May I suggest that some of you should approach the Kerry County Council with a view to starting a similar committee in Kerry to take charge of these sites and antiquities, now that the land is changing handes? (Applause). In the matter of excavating, may I say that amateur excavating may do more harm than good? valuable material is often lost, as the excavator destroys the object which might have given the information he required, by not exercising enough care. Suppose a person, in excavating, comes upon an urn, he can hardly make a mistake as to what it is; but if he is an amateur he will carry it off without making any note of where he found it, or how, or of what were its contents. The result is that when the amateur departs this life the urn becomes wholly useless as a piece of scientific evidence. But apart altogether from such large objects as urns, it is the tiny fragments which often tell the tale which the archæologist is looking for. The late General Pitt-Rivers, the most distinguished excavator who has yet appeared, used to say that if one were as well able to tell the approximate date of any piece of pottery as one could that of a fragment of a willow-pattern plate, one held the key of the chronology in one's hand when excavating. The fact is that a square inch of ancient pottery, which might be, and probably would be, utterly disregarded by the amateur digger, would tell the whole story to the man really competent to undertake such work. Therefore I hope that the Association will secure a capable supervisor before they undertake any important excavations.

The Rev. J. Carmody, P.P., Milltown, in proposing a vote of thanks to the speakers, expressed the pleasure felt by all present at hearing them. He then referred to a splendid old ruin not very far away, in which he had always felt the greatest interest, but which was now being pulled down in order that the corner stones from it could be used for farm buildings. He had tried to prevent this, and wrote to the Board of Works. He

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was by them referred to another authority, and was kept going from post to pillar until damage beyond repair had been done. Another ruin he might mention was covered with ivy, and overhung by branches of trees which constantly knocked against it. In order to save it he got the ivy removed and the branches clipped at his own expense. Referring to the magazine, he said he would always be glad to give any assistance in his power, for he felt that without some periodical of the sort the Association would be useless. He wished to express his gratitude for the work Miss Hussey had done. She had undertaken a laborious and troublesome and too often a thankless task; and also his gratitude for the very instructive adresses which they had heard to-day, which had taught them fresh facts about the antiquities in Kerry and the way to profit by them. (Applause).

Mr. T. O'Donnell, M.P., was heartily greeted as he stood up to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman. He said he desired to express his sympathy with the objects of the meeting and the Association, as he was in everything which made for the good of the county. "Dr. Windle," Mr. O'Donnell continued, "in his remarks has mentioned the Barony of Corcaguinny, which is my native district, and which district I have the honour to represent in Parliament, and I am very glad to have attention called to the fact that it is so rich in archæological remains. As Dr. Windle has said that we should take steps to protect these now that the land is passing from the landlord to the tenant, I will make it my business to try and prevent anyone from laying hands on any of those valuable monuments or injuring them in any way. Father Carmody has said that a more general interest should be taken in the subject. Perhaps up to this we have not had much opportunity for showing interest, but now that we have it we should certainly seize it, and support the important work of this important Association. In proposing the vote of thanks to Lord Kenmare for presiding, may I say that

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I hope his interest in the county will not lessen, now he is cutting his ties as a landlord, but will continue to promote every work and project which may be for the good of the country.

Mr. Talbot-Crosbie, D.L., Ardfert Abbey, seconded the proposal, and after the Chairman had thanked them the meeting adjourned.



ENTRANCE TO DUNBEG FORT, WEST DINGLE.

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Notes & Queries

1.—ARCHAEOLOGICAL MAP OF KERRY.

Those who are interested in the study of our National Antiquities must have observed with regret the gradual disappearance of objects of the first interest which can never be replaced. One of the ends which I propose to myself in the suggestion which I am now going to make is to preserve some record of these National treasures for later generations. Further, any persons anxious to work at a certain line of antiquities find themselves greatly hampered by the difficulty of ascertaining the exact locality in which some of the objects are to be found. What I want to do is to make the Library of this College, which is the College of Munster, a kind of clearing-house where antiquaries can obtain readily and accurately the information which they require respecting the antiquities of the Province. One of the rooms in our library is devoted entirely to books relating to Ireland, and I propose to collect therein such records of the antiquities of the Province as I can secure, either by my own work or by the help of other antiquaries in the Province. It is to solicit this help that I now make the following appeal. I should feel deeply grateful to any person who will send me the name and exact position of any object of antiquarian interest in their neighbourhood, giving the townland and where possible the sheet of the 6 inch ordnance map of where it is to be found. All such records will be catalogued and entered on the 6 inch sheets kept in the Library. Those who in addition will send me a photograph of the object in question, and a note of any work in which it is described will very greatly oblige me. All such photographs and notes will be carefully stored

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in the room spoken of above and will be available for examination by workers at all times. Reprints of articles or notices of objects of archæological interest in Munster will be most gratefully received and preserved in the pamphlet collection in the Library. May I add that the Ethnological Museum of the College has a section devoted to Irish antiquities, gifts for which will always be warmly welcomed.

BERTRAM C. A. WINDLE, F.R.S.,
F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,
President and Professor of Archæology,
University College, Cork.

2.—LIST OF SOME HOLY WELLS IN IVERAGH.

In the parish of Cahir, within the town of Cahirciveen, is a holy well called Tober-na-Crohaneeve (Tobar-na-Crocha Naoimh, or Well of the Holy Cross). The Pattern used to be held on the 14th September. It may be mentioned that there is, in Cahirciveen, the ruin of an old abbey, called, in the ordnance map, "Abbey of the Holy Cross," with which, I suppose, the well has some connection.

In the vicinity of the old ruined church of Killinane, near Sugrena, is the holy well of Saint Gobinet. The Pattern used to be held here on the 3rd March each year. Killinane means the Church of St. Lonane (i.e., Cill-lonain), and is the name of the Parish.

In the parish of Valencia there are two holy wells, i.e. Tobar-downy (Tobar-Domhnaigh). The Pattern used to be held on the 22nd March. The other well is Tobar-Finan, or Well of St. Finan; Pattern on 16th March.

In the parish of Killemlagh is Tobar-Finan, Pattern on 16th March; and Tobar-Buony (Tobar-Buaigne, or Well of St. Buony), date of Pattern not known. The townland is called Killabuonia.

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In the parish of Prior, at Dungegan, not far from Ballinskelligs, is St. Michael's Well. The date of the Pattern (which, I believe, is still held) is the 29th September.

In Dromod Parish, on Church Island, in the Waterville Lake, is a well dedicated to St. Finan. The Pattern used to be held on the 16th March.

In the parish of Glenbeigh is a well called Tobary-Keel (Tobar-i-Caoil), dedicated to St. Gregory, Pattern on the 12th March.

In the parish of Kilcrohane is a well called Tobar-Crochan, Pattern held on 1st August (though in the Calendar the Saint is commemorated on the 3rd August).

(The Saint Finan to whom so many wells are dedicated is believed to be St. Finan Cam, and not St. Finan the Leper. From the old MSS. it would seem that the latter never visited Kerry).

3.—LIBRARY AND MUSEUM IN KILLARNEY.

Our readers will be interested to learn that a large furnished room has been lent by our President, Lord Kenmare, as a reading room for the Kerry Archæological Association. Already there are some books given or lent by different members, as well as a few little curiosities, including some hitherto mysterious iron objects found near Ballymalis Castle, with some cannon balls, by Mr. T. Flynn, and by him presented to the Association. Any friends who may be kind enough to lend books or curiosities may be sure they will be taken the greatest care of. The reading room is open to all members and associates all day every week day except Thursday, when it is closed at 2 o'clock. It is in the Main Street, adjoining the Estate Office. The Association owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lord Kenmare for this, for hitherto it has been impossible to get any sort of room for the purpose. ED.

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4.—KING'S HISTORY OF KERRY.

We have received the fourth volume of Mr. King's History of Kerry, which gives further proof of the author's untiring industry, and contains a great deal of information. The greater portion of the book is taken up with the "Annals of Kerry from B.C. 1695 to A.D. 1668," or so it is modestly described. As a matter of fact, like most "Histories of Ireland," it begins with the Creation of Adam. There is also a list of Landowners in Kerry in 1876; a history of Rattoo Abbey; a list of Kerry Oghams, in which, unfortunately, Mr. King does not give his authorities for the readings adopted by him; and, lastly, a paper which we believe to be original, and therefore the most valuable,—a history of the old Kerry family of Trant, of Corkaguinny, and its branches. This is probably the oldest surname in Kerry, that is to say the family name which has existed in Kerry longest. The Keltic titles such as McCarthy Mor, O'Sullivan, and others, were rather the titles of chiefs than surnames. The Trants were said to have been of Norse origin, and to have arrived in East Kerry before their Norman kindred came via England, and before McCarthy Mor had invaded the southern portion of the county. It is well to have such family histories recorded.



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No. 7 OCTOBER, 1911.

Kerry Archæological Magazine.

FITZGERALD EARL OF DESMOND

FITZMAURICE LORD KERRY

Carving from Ardfert Cathedral.

Pillar from Doorway at Aghadoe.

M'CARTHY MOR

FITZGERALD KNIGHT OF KERRY

Contents

	PAGE
Clann Carthaigh, by S. T. McCarthy	385
Holy Wells in Valencia and Portmagee, by Miss Delap	403
Extracts from the Annals of Innisfallen ...	415
Tober-na-Molt, by B. Talbot-Crosbie	421
Royal Descents, No. 3 ...	437
Notes and Queries	439
List of Members	441

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1911.

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The Clann Carthaigh

By S. T. McCARTHY.



LORENCE MacCARTHY, by his wife Lady Ellen had four sons:—

1. Tadg, or Teige, who died in his boyhood in the Tower.
2. Donal, or Daniel, of whom presently.
3. Cormac, or Charles, who married Ellinor, daughter of the 17th Earl of Kerry.
4. Florence called "of Carrigphrehane," who took an active part in the warlike operations of 1641, and whose name frequently occurs in the depositions relating to the events of that period, wherein he is spoken of as the "Governor of Kerry." This Florence md. Mary dau. of — O'Donovan, and had a son Denis, to whom we shall refer later on, and a daughter Helena, who married Thomas Fitzmaurice of Lixnaw.

The second son Daniel, who succeeded his father, married Lady Sarah MacDonnell, daughter of the Earl of Antrim. She appears to have been previously married to O'Connor Sligo. (It is asserted, too, in some pedigrees, that Daniel, before his marriage to Lady Sarah, had married Joan, a daughter of Malcolm Hamilton). By Lady Sarah he had two sons, i.e., Florence, who died s.p. alluded to in the decree of the Court of Claims, of 1663, and Charles (of whom we shall treat later on), and two daughters, namely Catherine, who married Edmund Bourke second son of Lord Castleconnell, and

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Elizabeth who married Cornelius MacGillicuddy. The exact date of Daniel's death is not known; but, in a Chancery suit filed by his widow, on the 12th January, 1664, against Dame Honoria, Lady Dowager of Kerry, she alleges that he had served his then late Majesty under the Duke of Ormond; and being deprived of his lands by the usurping powers, he went to serve his present Majesty in foreign parts, where he died about three years previously. This would fix the date of his death somewhere about 1660 or 1661. The substance of the Court of Claims Decree in 1663, restoring certain lands to his widow, has already been given.

It would appear that Daniel McCarthy, in his youth, wearied of his sojourn in prison with his father and brothers, went out into the great world, where, as the son of his distinguished father, he had no difficulty in obtaining admission into high society. He then married, but after some time became hopelessly involved in money difficulties. He became a petitioner to the Privy Council on the subject of the family property, and, in this way, an angry adversary of the Brownes. There can be little doubt that the vigour with which he entered into the contest hastened on the long deferred decision in regard to the mortgaged estates, which was passed in 1630. Further than this there is little known about him, except what may be gleaned from certain letters, written by him, in that and the following year, which are printed in the biography of his father already quoted. "These letters," says Mr. McCarthy (Glas), "betray a baseness so deep that this author much prefers to leave them to tell their own disgraceful story." Certainly the letters in question do not exhibit him in a pleasing light. In one of them, dated the 2nd Nov., 1630, to Lord Donchester, he speaks of his father, brothers, and the rest of his kindred as being "as great persecutors of me for my religion as my other adversaries for my lands, which they covet and detaine from me," thereby causing his indebtedness, and he concludes the letter with an urgent solicitation of employment, in

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requital for which he professes his readiness to render all sorts of unworthy services. There is also printed a translation of a letter, written from Madrid, by the Archbishop of Tuam then in Spain, to a Franciscan Friar, called Eugene Field, in the monastery of Timoleague. It concludes as follows:—

"There are less hopes of the son of the Lord Kierry (who as I have heard is a terrible man) than of the son of Don Florentio; but it is no wonder; he having alwaies been brought up amongst the English; but Don Florentio, his son, is a Child of Curse, who is ready, not only to destroy his own father, but also his mother, the land where he was born, etc., etc.

"(Signed) FLAHREUS TIMONENSIS."

Florence, the elder son of Daniel McCarthy was married to Ellinor daughter of John Fitzgerald Knight of Kerry. He sold Cahirnane to Maurice Hussey in 1684, and granted Castlelough and other lands to his cousin german Denis MacCarthy, a son of his father's younger brother Florence "of Carrigphrehane."

Having died without issue, he was succeeded by his younger brother Charles, who came in for a much reduced inheritance. He raised a regiment of Foot for James II., and was Governor of Carrickfergus in 1690. There is extant the following curious document ordering the formation, into one Regiment, of the two raised by Colonels Charles MacCarthy More and Donal MacCarthy Reagh, which may prove of interest:—

"Richard Duke Marquis & Earl of Tyrconn[ell] Viscount Baltinglass, Baron of Talbotstowne, Capt. Gennerall of all his Majties forces in the Kingdom of Ireland, and one of the Lords of his Majties most honble. privy Councill in the Kingdoms of Ireland and England.

Whereas it is his Majties pleasure that one Regimt be composed out of the two Regiments raysed by you and Coll. Daniell MacCarthyreagh, of which the said Colonel Daniell MacCarthyreagh and you are to be Colls, you are he[re]by required to cause as many men as will

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compose six companies and a halfe, att sixty two private men in each Company, besides commissioned and non-commissioned officers, to March to Timoleague, Clonekilty, Roskarberry, Skeebereene, Eniscane and Enishanan, to ly there till they shall, together with six companies, and a half of the MacCarthyreagh's Regiment, be modelled and mustered, after which they are forthwith to march to * * * Mollingarr and the places adjacent according to orders already given. You are to cause all the said Companyes to be completely cloathed before theire Removall. Dated at Kilkenny the 15th [da]y of Aprill 1889."

TYRCONNELL.

To Coll. Charles MacCarthy more.

Charles MacCarthy Mor married Honoria Bourke daughter of Lord Brittas, by whom he had one son Randal, and a daughter Maria, who married Daniel O'Riordan.

Randal MacCarthy Mor married Maria daughter of Charles MacCarthy of Cloghroe (a branch of the house of Muskerry) and had a son named Florence, who succeeded him, and two daughters, namely Catherine who married Christopher Conway, and Elizabeth who married Geoffrey O'Donoghue of the Glens.[1]

Florence MacCarthy Mor married Agnes daughter of Edward Herbert of Muckross, and had an only child Charles, commonly called the "last MacCarthy Mor," who died unmarried at Putney on the 13th March, 1770. He was an officer of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards (Commission as Ensign dated 1st June, 1761). By his will he left the remnant of a once immense estate to his maternal grandfather Edward Herbert, notwithstanding that he had, at the time, several first cousins living, namely the children of his Aunt Ellen, by her marriage with Christopher Conway, and of his Aunt Elizabeth, by her marriage with Geoffrey O'Donoghue. Sir Ross

(1) The decendants of the MacCarthy mor through this latter marriage, include not only the present O'Donoghue of the Glens but also Sir Morgan O'Connell of Lakeview; whose grandfather Sir James O'Connell the 1st Baronet married Jane great grand-daughter of Geoffrey O'Donoghue.

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O'Connell stigmatises this will as "iniquitous," and certainly the Testator's action, in ignoring so many of his kinfolk, does strike one as unnatural and unjustifiable.[2] The lands left by him comprised all that had been settled on Lady Sarah MacDonnell, on her marriage with Daniel MacCarthy in 1646, and restored by a degree of the Court of Claims in 1663 (with the exception, of course, of Cahirnane, and Castlelough, which were subsequently alienated by her son Florence). Mrs. Conway apparently had no male issue living at the time, but her sister Mrs. O'Donoghue had a son Daniel, who, being next of kin to his deceased cousin Charles, was the natural heir. By reason of the Penal Laws, then in force, the setting aside even of such a will as Charles MacCarthy Mor's was a formidable task for the O'Donoghues (who were Catholics) to undertake. But such a glaring injustice could not be quietly submitted to, and legal proceedings were actually commenced. "The Herberts," to quote Sir Ross O'Connell,[3] "somewhat frightened, were glad to enter into a compromise. They retained the fattest portion of the heritage, and certain barren tracts, in Glencar, were ceded to the O'Donoghues, as the price of their silence. Thus did the ancient acres of the MacCarthys pass to a family in whose veins ran no drop of the MacCarthy blood."

Of course it was necessary also to make terms with Randal MacCarthy's elder daughter Mrs. Conway; so we find that, on the 26th April, 1776, she, with her children, Ellice wife of Florence MacCarthy, Catherine wife of John Mahony, Anne widow of Darby Mahony, Joan wife of Justin MacCarthy, Ellen wife of William Godfrey, Mary wife of Denis MacCarthy, and Alice spinster, ceded to O'Donoghue all claim to the MacCarthy Mor succession, in consideration of a sum of £1,500.

(2) The bequests to his relations comprise £500 to his Aunt Conway's children, the same to his Aunt O'Donoghue's younger children, and £200 to Samuel McCarthy son of his kinsman Randal who sold Castlelough.

(3) Vide his note to "The last Colonel of the Irish Brigade" Vol. 1 page 225. In that he states that the Herberts, previous to 1770, had rented Muckross from McCarthy Mor for £20 a year, and were therefore styled "of Muckross" even before they acquired the Estate.

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There was, at that time, living, a Captain Charles MacCarthy of Clare's Regiment, a grandson of the Denis to whom Castlelough was granted by his first cousin Florence, and so related to Charles MacCarthy Mor in the degree of third cousin once removed. In a letter written, soon after the latter's death, to his aunt Madame O'Donoghue, by her legal adviser Counsellor Murphy, he refers to him in the following terms:—"Charles the son of Florence, the elder brother of Justin MacCarthy, is now MacCarthy Mor, and a prettier fellow has not been a MacCarthy Mor, this age past. He is a Captain in Clare's Regiment." There is no doubt that this Charles, on the death of his kinsman and namesake, became de jure MacCarthy Mor, and was entitled to assume, if he cared for it, what had become an empty title. But nothing more seems to be known about him. Possibly descendants of him or of his brother may still be found on the Continent.

While on the subject of "iniquitous wills," it may here not be out of place to refer to a transaction with which the 'Last MacCarthy Mor" had some concern. It has been mentioned that his grandfather Randal married a daughter of Charles MacCarthy of Cloghroe (County Cork). The latter's grandson Justin died s.p. in 1762. Some time before his death, he willed his estate to his first cousin Florence MacCarthy Mor, though he had a sister Elizabeth then living, who was married to Joseph Capell, an officer in the Army. This was followed by a second will, in the same terms, except that it was this time in favour of Charles MacCarthy Mor. Afterwards, repenting of this, he caused a new will to be drawn up in his sister's favour, but he died suddenly before he could sign it. After his death, his sister claimed the property as heiress, and entered upon it. Whereupon suits arose between her and her husband on the one side, and Charles MacCarthy Mor, who claimed under the will in his favour, on the other side. The litigation at length terminated in an appeal to the House of Lords in London, which resulted in a decree

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in favour of Joseph Capell and his wife. It may be mentioned that they had a daughter Jane Capell, who married Robert MacCartie of Carrignavar, the great grandfather of the present representative of that family.

Charles the third son of Florence MacCarthy married Ellinor daughter of the 17th Lord of Kerry. There was apparently no issue surviving of the marriage. From an inquisition, dated the 17th January, 1638, it appears that Charles MacCarthy and Ellinor his wife were seized and possessed of the lands of Castlelogh, Carrigphrehane, Gortineobrien, Listymorogh, Ardagh, Coolclogher, Cahirnane, and Farrenmanagh.[4] And from another Inquisition made on the 28th August, 1658, it would appear that those same lands came into possession of his next brother Florence, on the death of the said Charles and Ellinor his wife.

We shall now go back to this Florence the fourth son of Florence the Tower prisoner. From the Inquisition just referred to, we gather that Florence called "of Carrigphrehane" came into possession, on the death of his brother above mentioned, of Cahirnane, and also of Coolclogher, Listimorogh, Ardagh, Carrigphrehane, and Gortineobrien, that he bore arms against "Charles Stuart late King of England" in 1643; that he was Governor of Kerry by commission from the Irish Rebels, and that the said lands were escheated to the Commonwealth.

As already stated, he married Mary Donovan. They had, besides a daughter Ellen, who married Thomas Fitzmaurice[5] son of the 17th Lord of Kerry, a son Denis to whom Castlelough was granted by his cousin Florence. This grant seems to have been made in pursuance of an arrangement between them, whereby Florence

(4) These are the lands granted in 1605, by King James I. to Donal MacCarthy base son of the Earl Clancar, with remainder to his reputed son Donal MacCarthy and his heirs. They must have passed out of the possession of those MacCarthys through failure of heirs or other causes. From an Inquisition made on the 3rd April, 1626 Donal Oge MacCarthy the "reputed" son, appears to have been then in possession of Sheeanes, Gortnaclohy, Coolclogher, Knockanoulort, and Cloony, and resided at Ballincarrig, which is somewhere about the centre of this property.

(5) This Thomas Fitzmaurice was brother of the lady whom his wife's uncle Charles married, and had served several years in Tangier. Of this marriage there were issue 3 children :—William, Ellinor, and John.

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MacCarthy Mor agreed to make over Castlelough to his cousin Denis, in consideration of the assignment, by the latter, of other lands to Florence. There was some litigation between them on the subject, as is evidenced by some Chancery and Exchequer bills filed in the year 1674.

Denis McCarthy married Margaret Finch, described as an "English lady of distinction," and, by her, had two sons, Florence and Justin. The elder son Florence married Mary daughter of Bernard MacMahon, and had, with several other children, an eldest son Charles, the "pretty fellow" of Clare's regiment, already referred to. Denis's second son Justin of Castlelough (called also "of Begnis," where he appears to have settled down afterwards) married Catherine daughter of Colonel Maurice Hussey, and had a son Randal. This Randal, for some cause or other, came down in the world, and sold Castlelogh to the Crosbie family in the reign of George II. He left his children uneducated, and badly provided for. In his will, dated the 24th December, 1760 (wherein he is described as "Randolph MacCarthy of Killelan,[6] Co. Kerry"), he leaves his real and personal estate to his wife Lucy McCarthy and his brother-in-law Samuel Dowse to pay his debts, and dispose of his property as they might think proper, for the benefit of his wife and children, and appoints his wife, and brother-in-law, and eldest son Samuel his executors.

After this we find no record of the family; but it is believed, by many, that the line of Randal is still extant, and we are informed that a lineal descendant of his exists, at the present day, in the person of Mr. Samuel McCarthy, Builder and Contractor, Cahirciveen. It seems more than probable that this is true, and it is known that Mr. McCarthy's family belong to Killelan, where they have held land for many generations.

We must not omit to mention also that O'Hart has traced out some descendants of MacCarthy Mor still living in America. In his "Irish Pedigrees" he

(6) Killelan is a townland in the parish of Cahir on the sea coast, north west of Ballycarbery, and opposite Begnis Island.

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tells us that the grandfather of Charles McCarthy Mor, who died in 1770 (whom he wrongly calls Florence), had, by his wife Mary McCarthy of Cloghroe a second son Cormac (not mentioned by other genealogists), whose descendants he traces up to recent times. This Cormac, he states, "lived along the Blackwater, and at Cork; married Dela, the daughter and heiress of Joseph Welply (or Guelph) who emigrated from Wales, and settled in Cork, possessing a tract of country between the North and South Channels, with other portions of the confiscated estates of the Muskerry MacCarthys, which were purchased for him. Cormac succeeded to Welply's possession, assumed the name of his father-in-law, and was generally called "Welply-MacCarthy." He died about 1761, leaving, with other children, a son John, who married Elizabeth Minhear, by whom he had three sons and eight daughters. The eldest of these, William, died at Lower Bellmount, in the parish of Moviddy, in 1833, aged 91, divested of nearly all his property. By his wife, Ann Harris of Bandon, he left three sons and six daughters, most of whom married and had issue. John the eldest son of William married and had several children. The eldest of these, also called John, married and emigrated to America, and was, in 1887, living in Cincinnati with six surviving children.

We have now, so far as the materials at our disposal have permitted, dealt with the main line of the MacCarthys. In the course of centuries many sub-septs branched off from it. The earliest of these was that of the MacCarthy Reaghs, Princes of Carbery, which branched off at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The latest (at least of which any information is forthcoming) seems to have been the Sliochd Cormac of Dunguil, which came into existence about the beginning of the 15th century. The most important branches were those of Carbery above mentioned, of Muskery and of Duhallow. The founders of these branches enlarged their territories by conquest, and became more or less

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independent. The first mentioned completely detached itself from the main line, admitting no claim to superiority on the part of McCarthy Mor. The other two, though nominally under his suzerainty, were virtually independent. The territories ruled over by those great chieftains were, like that of MacCarthy Mor, in point of extent and importance, more in the nature of principalities. Their rulers, like MacCarthy Mor, had their subordinate chieftains, mostly offshoots from time to time of their respective stems, and are referred to, by the annalists, as participating more in the political events of the country. For these reasons we propose, before dealing with the minor clans, to take up the history of those greater Chieftains as possessing more historical interest. We will commence with the house of Carbery.

THE MacCARTHYS REAGH, PRINCES OF CARBERY.

As has already been stated, in the notice of Cormac Fioun MacCarthy Mor (1170-1242) the first great disruption of the MacCarthy Sept, or at least the events which led to it, took place during his reign. It was brought about by the fierce struggles which took place between him and his younger brother Donall Gott. The latter, even before the death of Cormac, had greatly extended the boundaries of his patrimonial territory, chiefly at the expense of the O'Mahonys. In 1232, according to the (Bodleian) Annals of Innisfallen, Donal, who had been taken prisoner by his brother, and shortly afterwards set at liberty, was led, at the instance of Maghnus O'Cobhthaigh (O'Coffee) and Finghin O'Muirceartach (O'Moriarty) to do "an unneighbourly act" against Muirceartach O'Mahony. In other words, he made a "predatory excursion"[7] against that Chief. There was a sanguinary engagement at Carrigdurtheacht in which Donall defeated O'Mahony, the latter's three sons, and O'Coffey being killed. This led to O'Mahony's

(7) Predatory excursions were then the order of the day; and, as often as not without any justification. Every King or Chieftain, after being inaugurated, was expected to carry out some act of depredation in order to show his prowess

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dethronement[8] and the seizure by Donall Gott of a large slice of his territory, comprising Kilbrittain, Rathclarin, Burren, Rathdrought and Dowagh, which were parts of the Deanery of Kinalea Ultra, with which Kinalmeaky was originally identical. In consequence of this, Donal assumed the name "Cairbreach," and he and his race remained in the South, their chief place of residence being the Castle of Kilbrittain.[9]

Donall Gott was in 1251 slain by John FitzThomas Fitzgerald commonly called "John of Callan." He left six sons, namely (1) Dermod Doun, (2) Teige Dall, (3) Cormac of Mangerton, (4) Finghin Raghnaroin, (5) The "Aitclerach," and (6) Donal Maol. Before Donal Maol succeeded, the Chieftainship had been enjoyed by Cormac of Mangerton, and Finghin Ragh-na-Roin. The two eldest sons seem to have been, for some cause or other, excluded from it. The designation "Dall" (or blind) attached to the latter, suggests, in itself, the cause of his exclusion. He, however, became the founder of a widespread and wealthy branch called the "Clan Teige Dallain." Monsieur Lainé says that this family established itself in France, in the Province of Saintonge; and, at the time of the Revolution, was represented by N. MacCarthy Mac Taig Major-General of Marine, and Chef-de-division of the Department of Rochefort, whence they emigrated to New Orleans at the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th century. Mr. McCarthy Glas at page 136 of his history of the "Sliochd Feidhlimidh" details the services of this

(8) About this time there was a division in the Sept of the O'Mahonys. Muirceartach was chief of all the O'Mahony tribeland; but as, when the time came for his next brother Dermod to succeed, a portion of it had been lost to the family, it was doubtless considered more convenient to have a separate ruler for each of the two disconnected portions which remained. So Dermod became Chief of Ivagha, the Western portion, and his younger brother Conchubar of Kinalmeaky the Eastern portion. The Chieftain of the latter portion was generally, in the annals, etc., called O'Mahony Cairbreach (of Carbery) whilst his western kinsman of the elder branch was known as O'Mahony "an Fuin Iartaragh" or of the Western land.

(9) Previously occupied by the De Courcys, by one of whom it is said to have been built (though Bishop Clayton, writing in 1744, to Lord Egmont, relying on an inscription on a stone of the Castle, held that it must have been built in 1035, a century and a half before the De Courcys came to Ireland). From the De Courcys it passed into the hands of Donall Gott. There is a curious legend as to the way in which the MacCarthys became possessed of the Castle. It is stated that one of the De Courcys borrowed a white ferret from one of them, and, as a pledge for its safe return, allowed MacCarthy to occupy the Castle and lands; but, the ferret having died, he was unable to keep his word This MacCarthy took advantage of, and kept what he had.

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officer's father and grandfather. As regards the eldest brother Dermod Doun, it is certain that he became the founder of a powerful sept called, after him, the "Clan Dermod." He died at Miguisy 1275, and was buried in the Monastery of Cregan, and afterwards at Timoleague. His territorial appanage was situated in the South-east Coast of Carbery, and his residences were the Castles of Cloghane and Kilcoe, the latter of which is at the head of Roaring Water Bay. Some of his descendants emigrated to France in the 17th century, and are now represented by Count Daniel Jean Patrick MacCarthy of Bordeaux.

The heroic qualities of Finghin Ragh-na-Roin have been already dwelt on in the account of Donal Roe MacCarthy Mor. From the time of his father's victory, in 1232, over the O'Mahonys, peace prevailed between the two Septs, until 1259, when an unfortunate incident led to the renewal of hostilities. Crom O'Donovan, Chief of his name, in coming from or going to his own territory, happened to pass by Inisfail (now Phale), and, being mixed up in a quarrel with O'Mahony's herdsmen, was slain by them. Though there was nothing to show that O'Mahony himself was to blame, Finghin, ever ready for a fray, seized the opportunity to attack him, possibly at the instigation of Crom's successor. In the skirmish that ensued, Macraith O'Mahony[10] and several nobles were killed. We are already acquainted with the important part taken by Finghin, in the victory at Callan, over the Geraldines in 1261, and the fact of his death, at the Castle of Ragna-Roin (from which place he takes his agnomen) at the hands of Miles Cogan, and the De Courceys.

Finghin Ragh-na-Roin was, as the Annals state, succeeded by his brother the "Aitclerach."

About this personage no information is available. O'Donovan explains the word "Aitclerach" as meaning a "denounced or superannuated clergyman." The

(10) Macraith O'Mahony was the eldest son of Dermod O'Mahony the first chief of Ivagha, or the western part of their territory. Macraith's son Finghin was the ancestor of the Clan Finghin O'Mahony.

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prefix "Ait" in Irish is sometimes used to express privation or deposition. For instance, "Ait Taoiseach" means a deposed chief. The "Aitclerach" cannot have held the Lordship more than about a year, as his brother Donal Maol succeeded in 1262.

Donal Maol MacCarthy inaugurated his succession by an early essay of arms with the survivors of the previous warfare, and proved himself a worthy successor to his heroic brother Finghin. He is frequently mentioned in the Annals of Innisfallen, in connection with his hostility to the English, over whom he gained repeated advantages, from 1261 down to 1307. For instance it is recorded, under the year 1262, that "a victory was gained by Donal Maol the son of Donal Gott MacCarthy, over the English, on which occasion he slew 12 of their Knights, and the greater part of their muster." In 1295 he slew John de Courcy, Baron of Kinsale, and his brother Patrick on the Island of Inisdovey, thus avenging the death of his brother Finghin.[11] His efforts were ever directed to the destruction of the Norman castles, for he learned, from experience, that they constituted the main strength of his adversaries.

During his reign the MacCarthy Reagh territories were largely extended by encroachments on the O'Mahonys' possessions. On the eastern side the lands of the latter had been reduced to the tract comprising, roughly speaking, the modern barony of Kinalmeaky. The territory west of that, between Enniskean and the confines of Ivagha, was annexed by the MacCarthys during the latter half of the 13th century. Not only this, but they also penetrated into Ivagha also; and, as their aggressions were not met by combined effort, on the part of the tribes who then held that country, they succeeded in reducing it to a condition of vassalage,

(11) This was the last of a chain of tragic events in which Donal Moal and his family were concerned. The first of them was the death of his father Donall Gott, in 1251, at the hands of John FitzThomas Fitzgerald The latter, in his turn, fell in 1261, at the battle of Callan, where Donal's son Finghin played such a distinguished part. Finghin himself fell soon afterwards at Ragh-na-Roin, at the hands of the De Courcys, and two members of this family were ultimately slain by Donal Maol in 1295.

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and enforced, from the O'Mahonys, etc., the payment of tribute. The latter continued for some time, to offer resistance; but their era of supremacy had come to an end. It will be noticed that, in the Irish Annals, from that time forward the MacCarthy Reagh Chieftains are frequently spoken of as Lords of Carbery and Ui Eachach (or Ivagha).[12]

We may here insert the following description, by the writer of the "Carbriæ Notita," of the territory subdued by Donal Gott and his sons:—

"Carbery, the largest and most famous barony in Ireland, hath often altered its bounds, as the power of its lords prevailed more or less. It is not improbable that it once extended to the river Lee or (as the old verse hath it) to Carrig-O'Glaneen or Mizen Head to Cork. Anyhow, I shall describe its more certain extent as from the harbour of Kinsale to the Bay of Bantry, containing all that tract which nowadays makes up the baronies of East and West Carbery, Ibane, Barryroe, Kilnalmeaky and Courceys. The MacCarthys Reagh were lords of this great territory, and had, out of it, the greatest chief rent that was paid out of any seignory in Ireland; inasmuch that the MacCarthys have been styled Princes of Carbery, as well in many ancient histories and records, as in their several letters patent from the Kings of England."

Donal Maol lived to an extreme old age, dying in 1311. In the last year of his reign he procured the liberation of Tadg and Donal MacCarthy, the sons of his first cousin Donogh Cairtneach, who had been held in captivity by Dermod of Tralee since their assault upon his castle of Dun-mac-Tomain.[13]

(12) Ivagha i.e. Ui Eachach means the decendants of Eachaid soh of Cas the ancestor of the tribe afterwards known as the O'Mahony family, and the name was applied to that part of their territory to the South west of the Co. Cork comprising the greater part of is now the Barony of West Carberv. After the division of the O'Mahony's territories into two parts, the limits of Ivagha gradually narrowed down to what was known as the "Fonn Iartarach" comprising the parishes of Kilmoe, Kilmocomogue, Scoole (Schull) Caheragh, Kilcrohane and Durrus, which may be roughly described as the tract lying between Roaring Water Bay, and Bantry Bay.

(13) They, having captured and burnt the above mentioned Castle, were seized by Dermod of Tralee, who was their first cousin, and by him kept in captivity until liberated, as above mentioned, in 1310. Donall, the younger brother, afterwards joined Edward Bruce in his invasion of Ireland, and subsequently served, under his brother Robert King of Scotland, who gave him a grant of land. He was the ancestors of the Macartneys.

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He was succeeded by his son Donal Caomh. The reign of the latter (from 1311 to 1320) was a peaceful one, which circumstance probably accounts for his agnomen (the word "caomh" meaning, amongst other things, mild or gentle). He succeeded in steering clear of all embroilments in the proceedings of Edward Bruce, who was at that time engaged in so many warlike enterprises. He was therefore, in all probability not cognisant of, or at least not actively concerned in the following incident, narrated in the "Annals of Munster." They record that, in 1319, a force of the MacCarthys "under the command of the sons of Finin MacCarthy" (presumably the nephews of Donal Maol and cousins german of Donal Caomh) came in their long boats to Beara to the island of Creagaire (Beare Island) to besiege Dermod Mor O'Mahony[14] and his brother, and continued there for five weeks," that Fineen, eldest son of Dermod Mor, brought reinforcements, from Ballyrisode, under difficulties, as the vessels of Ivaghs were engaged elsewhere, and only one was available; that when, at length, sufficient clansmen had been brought over, there was a skirmish, resulting in the loss of two of Dermod's family, and one of Fineen MacCarthy's, and many followers on both sides, and that finally Dermod's two other sons, Donal and Dermod Oge, arriving with their ships, brought off their own party safely to the Carn (the Mizen Head).

Donal Caomh married, as her second husband, a daughter of Carew Marquis of Cork, and widow of Dermod O'Mahon. The Marquis had settled in Carbery and built a castle near the Abbey of Bantry, called Carew Castle, otherwise Dunnamark. This was one of the many castles destroyed after the battle of Callan, by the victorious party.

Donal Caomh had two sons (1) Donal Glas his successor and (2) Cormac Doun, ancestor of the Glenna-

(14) Dermod Mor O'Mahony (called Dermod Mor II) Lord of Ivagha. His brother was Tadg an-Oir ancestors of the Ui Flon Luadh branch. Dermod, before his death, in 1337, arranged that "Rosbrin and 18 ploughlands at its foot" should be given to his younger sons Donal and Dermod. Fineen the eldest son, who succeeded objected to this provision, and refused to carry it out. Thereupon Donal and Dermod decided to leave Ivagha. Dermod went to Desmond, MacCarthy Mor's country, and received a hospitable welcome and a tract of land from MacCarthy. He became the ancestor of the Mahony's of Dromore, Dunloe and Kilmorna.

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chroim branch. Donal Glas was Prince of Carbery from 1320 to 1366. We read in the Monasticon Hibernicum, that he rebuilt, in the first mentioned year, the Abbey of Timoleague, upon the ruins of a more ancient one consecrated to the same saint (Molaga). But the Four Masters say it was founded in 1240; and, if so, it is not clear why it should be in ruins and require to be rebuilt in such a short time. Possibly it may have been only repaired, or altered or added to by Donal Glas. The same perplexity exists in regard to Muckross Abbey, which the Four Masters say was erected in 1340, while some say it was rebuilt, in the following century, by Donal-an-Doun MacCarthy Mor. Probably the true explanation, in both cases, is that portions of the buildings were erected at different periods. This is evident in the case of Timoleague at all events.

Donal Glas appears to have been continually in revolt against the English. The Four Masters record a victory gained by him, in 1326, over "MacThomas and the English of Munster." Monsieur Lainé says that Letters Patent exist, of Edward III., issued in 1334, and directed to Jean de la Bataille, his Treasurer in Ireland, to furnish funds, for payment of the forces, led by John D'Arcy, Justiciary of Ireland, against Donal Cairbreach MacCarthy, and also letters from the same Monarch, ordering his restoration to freedom, he having been, for some time previously, held as a hostage for the submission and peaceable demeanour of his people.

Donal Glas left two sons (1) Donal Reagh, from whom the Chieftains of this line descend, and (2) by a daughter of O'Cromin, a son Dermod, called for this reason MacInghine O'Cromin, and by English writers "Mac Crimin," whose posterity formed a small sept who maintained a position of wealth and consideration for the next three centuries, but perished ignobly after the troubles of 1641. He also left a daughter Mary, who married Bernard O'Sullivan Bear.

On the death of Donal Glas, the Chieftainship, according to the usage of Tanistry, came to his brother

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Cormac Donn; but he was scarcely inaugurated when he was murdered by his nephew Donal, son of Donal son of Donal Glas. This event, which occurred in 1366, is thus referred to by the Four Masters:

"Cormac Donn MacCarthy, Lord of Carbery and Ivahaghe, was treacherously slain by his relative Donal-n-an-Donal ("Donal of the Donals").

This "Donal of the Donals" who was Cormac Donn's nephew, and son of Donal Glas, was so called from his having several immediate ancestors bearing that name. He was generally called Donal Reagh (properly Riabbach meaning "swarthy") from his complexion; and after him, his successors bore that cognomen. He succeeded his uncle, on his murder of the latter in 1366.

And now it is to be noted that, at this period, i.e. some 150 years after the disruption which led to the formation of Carbery into a separate principality, that province was, in its turn, split up into 2 portions, namely the main portion which continued to be known under the name of "Carbery," and which was owned by Donal Reagh, and his successors, and that portion which was the appanage of the Sept. called "of Glennachroim" (and also the "Sliochd Feidhlimidh" after its founder Felim, son of Cormac Donn). This family will be treated of by-and-bye. It is true that, according to O'Hart, the Glenmachroim territory was granted, by Donal Caomh, to his younger son Cormac Donn, for himself, and his descendants, and this grant must have been made before 1320. Nevertheless we see Cormac, on the death of his elder brother Donal Glas, in 1366, succeeding him as Lord of Carbery, which position he did not live long to enjoy. The separation may therefore be considered as having been more definitely carried into effect from the date of Cormac's murder, when the junior branch completely detached itself from the senior.

We shall now resume the history of the main branch of the MacCarthy Reagh family.

Donal Reagh having, as has been stated, secured for himself the Chieftainship, by the murder of his uncle,

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deemed it prudent, 2 years afterwards, i.e. in 1368, for the further security of his position, to seize Cormac Donn's eldest son Dermod. Having done so, he delivered him into the hands of the English, who shortly afterwards put him to death. In fact, in common with other Chieftains of that period, he inherited, with his position, as Lord of Carbery, the necessity of fighting for the rest of his life to maintain it. It appears that he, Donal Reagh, was the first of his line who, in addition to the Irish war cry of "Lamh Laidir Aboo," adopted the motto "Fortis ferox, et Celer."[15] And in truth, when we bear in mind this Chieftain's proclivities, the new motto may be deemed to be a not inapt description of himself! He died in 1414. He had married Johanna Fitzmaurice, by whom he had (1) Donogh of Iniskean, ancestor of the Slioch Donogh of Iniskean, and of the MacCarthy Rabach (2) Dermod-an-Dunaidh his successor (3) Donal Glas[16] d.s.p. 1442; (4) Eoghan slain 1432, and (5) Cormac-na-Coille.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to point out that Donal Glas, who, as above mentioned, died in 1366, and who, in the Irish Annals, is frequently called Donal "Cairbreach," has been considered, by the English heralds, as a distinct person from another Donal whom they call "Cairbreach the Naval" and who, they assert, succeeded him. In other words, according to their account, Donal Reagh, who died in 1414 would have been the great grandson of Donal Caomh who died in 1320, and not his grandson as the account which we have just given goes to show. Monsieur Lainé too adopts their view. But it is questionable whether this introduction of a generation more than is acknowledged by Mac Firbis, and other Irish genealogists, can be accepted as correct.

(15) This motto is used only by the "Reagh" branch and its sub-divisions. That of the main line of the Muskerry and all other branches is "Forti et fideli nihil difficile."

(16) This Donal left illegitimate sons, the founders of the "Sliochd Glas," who possessed most of the parishes of Ballymadee, and Ballymoney. Their chief residence was the Castle of Phale. For a time Kilgobban Castle too belonged to them. There were, about 1600, three brothers, Donogh, Donald and Finghin. Of these Finghin fled to Spain. Donogh's son Owen was attainted in 1642. His son Owen Roe Glanghig MacCarthy, was a noted person, and the site of the Gallows on which he hanged evil-disposed persons, is still pointed out.

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Some Holy Wells in Valencia & Portmagee.

By M. J. DELAP.

KILMORE AND KILLEMLAGH PARISHES, NOW VALENCIA AND PORTMAGEE.



IN the modern parish of "Valencia and Portmagee," which includes the old parishes of Kilmore and Killemlagh, there are nine holy wells marked on the ordnance maps. 1. Toberfinnan, 2. Tober-Naomh-Leigion, 3. Tobereendoney, 4. Tober-olla-Brenainn, in Valencia parish; 5. Tobernaspoge, 6. St. Finan's Well, 7. St. Buonia's Well, 8. and 9. two holy wells in St. Finan's Abbey, Skellig Michael.

KILMORE PARISH.

1. Toberfinnan, in Glanleam townland, is near an old Killeen. It is reputed to cure rheumatism and such complaints. Stations are performed round this Killeen and well.

2. Tober-naomh-Leigion, in the townland of Laharan (the half land), is a fine spring issuing from the south side of Kilbeg mountain, and is marked by a small wooden cross.

3 Tobereendoney (the Well of Sunday's King), also called St. Darerca's Well, is in the townland of

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Memorial Slab beside St. Buonia's Well. M. J. Delap.

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Ballymanagh (the monk's townland). This well is a little to the westward of Tobar-naomh-Leigion, and is covered with a rudely-built pent-house of rough stones and surrounded by many offerings and tokens of rounds performed there. St. Darerca is the patroness of the parish, as the Roman Catholic chapel is dedicated to her. She is said to have had a cell and oratory on the Island, but of these there is now no trace. Tradition says this saint, Liemania or Darerca, was a sister of St. Patrick, and was married to Restitutus the Lombard. Restitutus and his six brothers are supposed to have come to Ireland with St. Patrick about A.D. 432.



Fig 1 ST. DARERCA'S WELL Tobereendoney.

4. Tober-olla-Brenainn, the Holy Well of St. Brendan's anointing. This well is in the townland of Coarhabeg, on the north-west shore of Valencia Island. It lies in a lonely stretch of bog, marked by a heap of small stones and with many tokens of the rounds paid there by the faithful. The old stone crosses marking the "rounds" are almost sunk in the soft boggy soil. The story of this holy well is recorded by Father Denis O'Donoghue in Brendaniana as told to him by the parish priest of Valencia (Brendaniana, p. 278): "One day, when St. Brendan was sailing in his currach (corracle)

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from one of his oratories on the Blasquet Islands across Dingle Bay, to visit the little monastery of St. Beoanigh at the Glin, in the parish of Killemlagh, barony of Iveragh, he was suddenly hailed, as he drew near the northern coast of Ilaun Dairbhe, or Valencia Island, by a man standing on one of the headlands there, who made signals to him to come on shore without delay. The saint at once turned his little boat towards the land, and put in to a narrow creek, where he found a landing-place like that he came to on the first island he reached on his 'great voyage,' 'where the rocks stood on every side, of wonderful steepness, like a wall.'

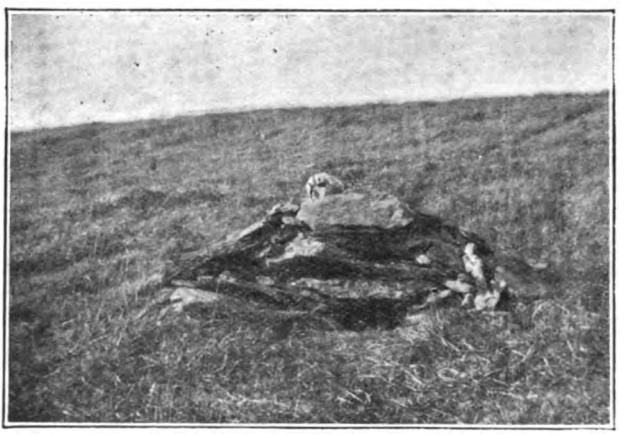


Fig 2 TOBER-OLLA-BRENAINN

Here he drew up his boat, and ascended the frowning cliff by means of steps, which are to this day as firmly and safely set on the face of it as if carved out by the hand of man. Having learned from the stranger that there were two persons lying at the point of death, some distance inland, who had not received the last Sacraments, he followed his guide, who led him into the thick of a forest—which is now-a-days an extensive bog, called Emlagh, in the townland of Coorhabeg, and here he discovered two men who were dying, and who had earnestly desired and prayed to die in the Christian

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faith, but who had not been baptized, nor received any religious instruction for want of opportunity. The strange guide then disappeared, and St. Brendan having instructed the dying men, administered to them the Sacraments of Baptism and Extreme Unction, and in a short time afterwards they died holy and happy deaths. They were buried where they died, and two pillar-stones,

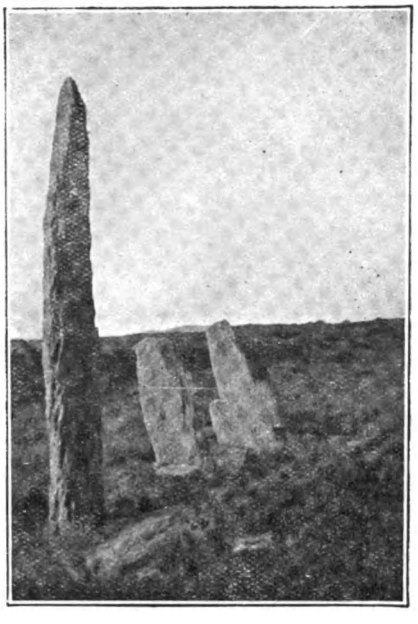


Fig 3. GRAVE OF TWO MEN IN EMLAGH BOG.

which must have been brought from afar, mark the spot where they were laid at rest. The well from which the saint had procured the water for their Baptism, and which flows near the place of their burial, is known and recognised as a holy well, still called by Irish-speaking people Tober-olla-Brenainn (the Well of St. Brendan's Anointing). It is much frequented by pious pilgrims, who perform certain devotions there, and many miraculous cures are popularly believed to have been granted to such devotions. The "round," as the devout

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practice is called, consists in repeating certain prayers, when going along by four large stones, sunk in the

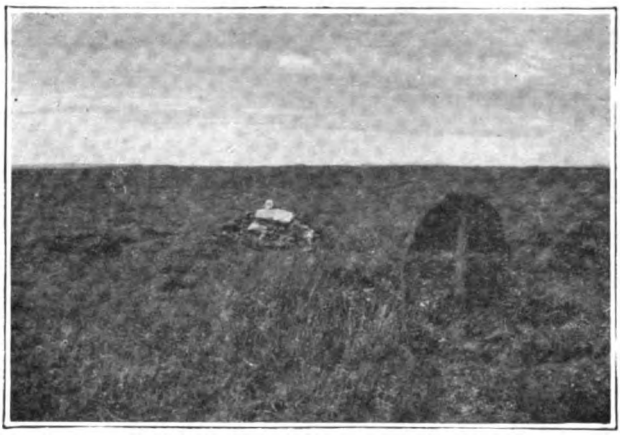


Fig 4 CROSS AND STATIONS AT TOBER-OLLA-BRENAINN.

earth, in the form of a cross; and it appears that each of these stones is a rude cross of a very ancient type, which is partially covered by the boggy soil.

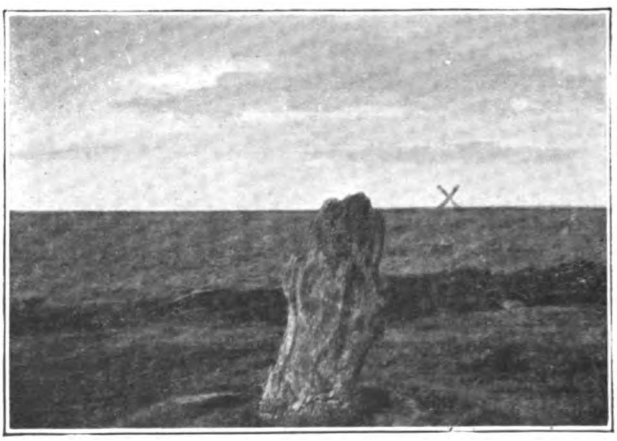


Fig 5—LARGE CROSS AT TOBER-OLLA-BRENAINN looking West (Well marked X)

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The little creek, near the present Colloo Head, by which St. Brendan landed on the Island, received from him a special blessing on the occasion, as the tradition tells, so that ever after it abounded in shoals of excellent fish, and became the favourite fishing ground of the islanders, until, within the memory of some now living in the neighbourhood, the great supply of fish there proved for many too strong a temptation to profane the Lord's day, and led to Sabbath-breaking and neglect of Mass by the fishermen, which brought on the waters of the creek the curse of barrenness, which clings to them at the present day." The miraculous steps at Coosheen-adogallaun are still to be seen (see figure 6), and are used

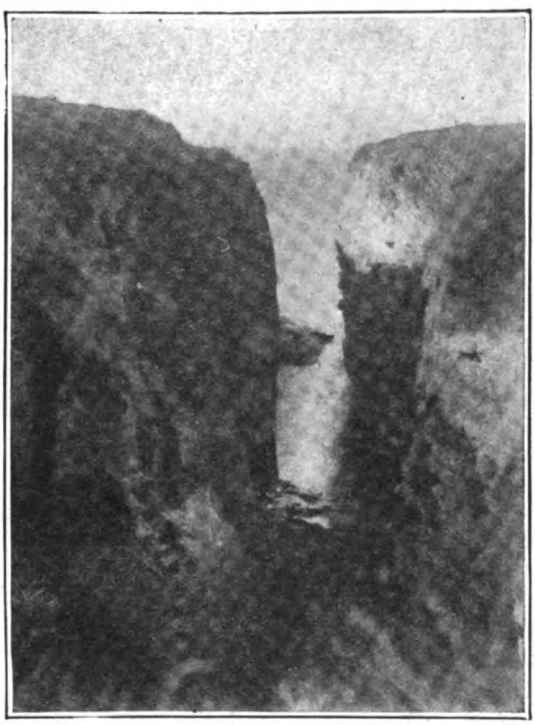


Figure 6 From photo by E. T. B.

STEPS AT COOSHEENADOGALL.

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by the neighbouring people when collecting seaweed for their farms. The steps have been repaired from time to time by Trinity College and by the Congested Districts Board, but the present land-place for boats is a little further to the westward. Near by, on top of the cliff, the two pillar stones are still standing, and close to the holy well and crosses is the ruin of an ancient cromlech or grave. On the edge of Emlagh bog, near the boundary between Cool-west and Coarha-brone townlands, stand the stones marking the grave of the two men, and

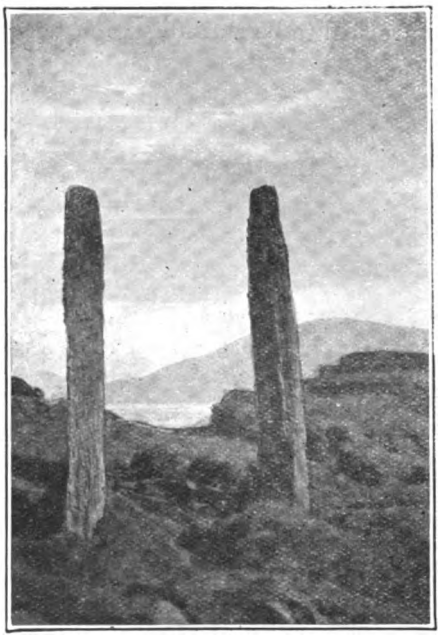


Fig 7—Gallauns on Cliff near Culloo Head, Valencia, looking east

near by is a curious old cross. The stones were found buried in the bog, and raised to their present position by the farmer on whose land they stand. The taller stone is seven feet six inches in height. The cross is four feet high, and twenty-three inches across the arms.

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About thirty years ago a short bronze sword was found close to the stones; this is now in the National Museum in Dublin.

Killemlagh parish, near Portmagee, in the Union of Valencia and Portmagee, extends from the channel dividing Valencia Island from the mainland, to the southern extremity of Bolus Head, on Ballinskelligs Bay. It contains many interesting remains of oratories, beehive cells, cromlechs, gallauns, etc., and several holy wells. 5. Coomanaspig Well, or Tobernaspoge (the Well of the Bishop); 6. St. Finan's Well; 7. St. Buonia's Well; and two on Skellig Michael, 8. and 9.

5. Coomanaspig or Tobernaspoge, sometimes called St. John's Well, is in the townland of Coomanaspig. It lies on the western slope of Kilkeeveragh mountain, on the right hand side of the road from Portmagee to the Glen. "A clear little rill issuing from the mountain side, and esteemed the holiest well in Kerry" (Kerry, by C. P. Crane, D.S.O.). Rounds are made here during the Patron at Dungeagan, when the pilgrims visit all the holy wells in succession, beginning with St Michael's at Dungeagan, then St. Buonia's and St. Finan's in the Glen, and ending at St. John's, or Tober naspoge, on Kilkeeveragh mountain.

6. St. Finan's Well, on the shore of St. Finan's Bay, and quite near the ruins of the old church of Killemlagh, which was founded by and dedicated to St. Finan.

7. St. Buonia's Well. This well is in the townland of Killabuonia, and within the ancient monastery of Killabuonia, a very interesting group of ruins, which has been fully described by Mr. P. J. Lynch in the Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries, Part I., Vol. XXXII. The well is a beautiful spring "around which the pious peasants have raised a large cairn of pebbles, the countless records of the rounds which have

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been paid there for ages." "The religious observance

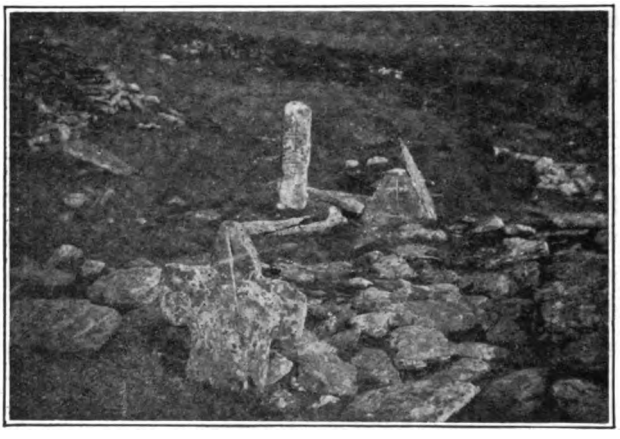


Fig. 8.—St. Buonia's Monastery—General view.

is generally on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays." (Mr. P. J. Lynch). Local tradition says that St. Buonia was



Fig. 9.—St. Buonia's Well—modern scratched crosses.

a sister of St. Patrick and a holy nun, but authorities differ on the subject. Another tradition is that St. Brendan was the founder. "There is a dim tradition

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that he (St. Brendan) founded also the ancient 'Laura,' a group of ancient monastic cells, known as Killabounia in the Glen, parish of Killemlagh, barony of Iveragh, and that he occasionally visited his religious establishment there, sailing in his currach across Dingle Bay from his island oratory on the Blasquets." (Rev. D. O'Donoghue. Brendaniana, p. 186). But further on in his interesting story he speaks of it as "the little monastery of St. Beoanigh," and suggests that it was

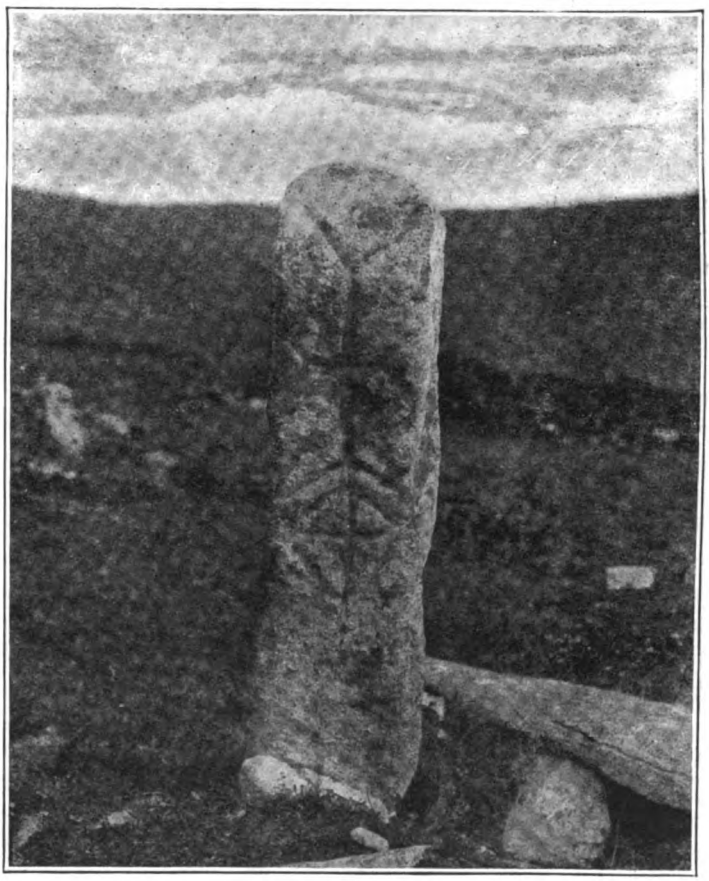


Fig. 10.—Gallaun near St. Buonia's Well.

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perchance founded by St. Beonigh, one of St. Brendan's disciples, and "probably the same saint whose name we find as 'Beoanus' in the Latin Lines of St. Fursey." (Brendaniana, p. 280-283). In the same story he describes the holy well, "Beside the enclosure, there gushes forth from the living rocks of the mountain, that here rises abruptly over the site, a copious stream of limpid water, which is called St. Beoanigh's Well, and all around for some distance are traces of ancient graves and burial cists, with a few pillar stones still erect beside them, within which, no doubt, many of the early monks who worked and prayed in these dismantled cells and oratories were laid to rest" (p. 281). The slab beside St. Buonia's well is covered with modern crosses scored on it by persons performing rounds at the well. I have traced the old cutting only; the lower central cross is nearly gone now, and some of the lettering. The incised cross on the pillar stone is something like this cross in the termination of the arms, and Mr. Lynch notes the similarity to the crosses on the Lombard's stone at Inchagoill. The Lombard's stone commemorates "Lugnath" or "Lugna," youngest son of Restitutus the Lombard and "Liemania" or "Darerca," St. Patrick's sister. If St. Buonia was also a sister of St. Patrick and of St. Darerca, this may possibly explain the similarity of these two monuments. Perhaps St. Buonia fostered Lugnath as St. Brendan was fostered by St. Ita; but of course this is mere surmise. The monument at Inchagoill has an inscription in 5th century Latin Text, O'Donovan says the oldest Christian monument he has seen (Journal R.S.A., Vol. XXXI., p. 242).

On the great Skellig Rock, or Skellig Michael, is a celebrated monastery said to have been founded by St. Finian, and dedicated to St. Michael. This is said to be "the most westerly of Christ's fortresses in the ancient world." It was also one of the principal penitential stations in Ireland. There are two small wells within the enclosure near the little church. The water in them is brakish and quite unfit to drink.

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Extracts from the Annals of Innisfallen.

A.D. 250.—After the fall of Art, the son of Conn-ceadchathach—Conn the hundred fighter, and six of the sons of Olliol Olum, King of Leath Mogha, who were slain the battle of Magh Macruimbe, by Luigh, otherwise called Mac Con, son of Mac Niad, and by Beine Briot, the King of Britain's son; Luigh seized the government of Leath Chuin, according to some of the antiquaries for 30 years, according to the Book of Cluain-mac-nois for 12 years. However, the Book of Leacon asserts that Mac Conn was banished from Teamhair (Tara) and forced to fly into Munster by Cormac son of Art, after enjoying the sovereignity of Leath Chuin for three years.

254.—Cormac-mac-Art succeded Mac-Conn on the throne of Leath Chuin, and was banished by the three Ferguses into Connaught. Cormac went from thence into Munstet and begged the assistance of Olliol Olum; Olliol refused saying that he was heartily sorry he had sent his sons with Art to Magh Macruimhe. Sabia, the daughter of Conn, addressed Cormac and told him he would find the renowned hero Luigh Lagha alone in a rath at Dun-Tri-Liag, and desired him to demand of him a fine or reparation for the death of his father, whom he (Luigh) had slain at Magh Macruimhe. Cormac went there and found Luigh as Sabia had told him. He drew his sword and said, "I will behead you, Luigh, in revenge for the slaying of my father."

Luigh replied "I will give you the head of a king in battle."

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Cormac answered "I will accept that and your word for it."

"I give that," said Luigh.

And Cormac answered "That is enough. The head I require of you is that of the King of Ulster."

Cormac returned to Olliol and to Sabia, and Sabia requested Teige, son of Cian, to go with Cormac against the Ultonians. Teige promised to do so provided he got as much of the plain of Meath as his chariot could go round after he had won the battle. Cormac gave his word that he would grant this request. Teige arose early the next morning and sent for Luigh Lagha, and they both marched at the head of a great army against the Ferguses and the Ultonians. A battle was fought between them, and Luigh killed Fergus-dubh-dheadhach and came with his head to Cormac. The Ultonians proclaimed the other two Ferguses, one after the other, and Luigh killed them and brought their heads to Cormac as an atonement for the slaying of Art-Mac-Conn. Teige, the son of Cian, forced his way through the enemies ranks, and after he had made great slaughter among them, they fled before him, but he with the Mononians pursued them; which, when Cormac perceived, he promised Teige's charioteer whatever he liked to ask if he would drive towards the field of battle as soon as Teige became weak. The servant promised to do so, which he did, for he drove the chariot three times to the battle-field after Teige had surrounded a part of Meath every time, so that it was on the very spot whereon the battle was fought when night overtook them. When Teige found out the treachery, he slew the charioteer. Cormac took Teige and Luigh with him to Tara to have their wounds healed, and put them into a house outside the walls of Tara on the green, had their arms taken from them, except Luigh's sword, which was hidden under his bed, and ordered the physician to put leeches, beards of barley and bristles into their wounds to cause their death. Then, when Cormac thought that Luigh was near his end, he came to him and said,

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"Luigh, what cause had my father given you to kill him at Magh Macruimhe." Luigh sprang forth, drew the sword from under his bed, and said, "He fled like a wild man, he bleated like a he-goat, and he pranced like a horse," and so saying he attacked Cormac so fiercely that he and his attendants were obliged to fly to the gates of Tara for protection, Luigh having slain as many of them as he could find outside the walls. He then returned to Munster in spite of their numbers.

It was in Cormac's time that Fiatha-Muill-eathan assumed the sovereignity of Leath Mogha, after the death of his uncle, Cormac-Cas, son of Olliol Olum. During his reign Cormac made great efforts against the Mononians. Once he came at the head of a great army, destroying the country as he went, to Drom-Damhgoire (now called Cnoc-Luinge), where he was met by Fiatha-Muill-eathen and Mogha-Corb, son of Cormac Cas. A fierce battle was fought, wherein Cormac and the army of Leath Chuin were utterly routed. Cormac himself was taken prisoner, and made to promise that neither he nor any of his posterity should invade Munster to seek for prey or plunder or tribute. It was this Fiatha-Muill-eathen that bestowed Magh-feine on Mogruith the Druid, from whom is descended O'Dugain, the chief of Magh-feine; and O'Cosgra, from whom descends Cuana, son of Cailcin, the champion of Leathmhuin.

It was Cormac, son of Art, who fought the battle of Criona, where he obtained a great victory over the Ultonians, with the death of their King Fergus Fionn, son of Fergus Dubdeadhach, King of Ulster, who was succeeded by Fergus Fogha, the last of the Phenician clan or race who reigned in Emania.

It was also in Cormac's reign that Dunloing, son of Eanna-Niad, King of Leinster, surprised thirty princesses with thirty waiting maids, and slew them altogether at Cluain-feart. However, this base and treacherous act did not go unpunished, for Cormac put to death the twelve royal chiefs of Leinster to avenge the cruel murders.

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279.—Cormac ended his days in a private house on the banks of the river Boyne, having long before resigned the government to his son, Cairhe Liffeachair, and refused to worship idols. His death was occasioned by the bone of a salmon, which stuck fact in his throat, or (as others say) he was murdered by Maoilcheam a Druid for refusing to practice idolatory, which was the established religion in his time. Aodh, son of Gara, son of Neaman, son of Moina, from whom the Clan Moirne are named, was then King of Connaught, and the last of the Damnonians or Firbolg race who governed that province.

296.—Cairbre Liffeachair was slain in the battle of Gabhra-Aicle, which he fought against Mogha-Chorb, son of Cormac Cas King of Munster, and the Fiana Finn (Finn's part of the militia). In this battle the celebrated militia were cut off (among whom fell Usgar and Mac Luigheach, two very renowned champions,) by Cairbre and Clana-Moirne, who did not live long to boast of their achievement, for they, with their entire army, were in their turn slaughtered by the former.

In the fourth year of the reign of Cairbre Liffeachair, that is 283, died the celebrated general of the Irish militia, Fion MacCumhal, by the treacherous hand of a fisherman, whose name was Athach-mac-Dubhdrein, who slew him with his gaff at Rath Brega near the Boyne, whither he seems to have retired in his old age, to spend the remainder of his life in tranquility far from the toil and noise of war. Mac Dubhdreen did not long survive the treacherous deed, for he was soon afterwards beheaded by the valiant hand of Caoilte mac Ronain in revenge for the murder of his beloved Lord Fionn. From henceforth the Irish Militia were unable to make any formidable appearance.

Aongus Gaobhuailteach, son of Fiache son of Feihlim Reachtmhar, struck out the eye of Cormac, the son of Conn, and killed his son Ceallach and the Judge of Tara with one cast of a javelin. Cormac defeated the descendants of Fiacha Suighe in four different engagements, and at length drove them into Munster, from

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whence they never returned to their own country, for Aongus mac Nadfraoich, then King of Munster, gave them lands in the Deisie, having obtained in marriage the daughter of the King of Leinster, by name Eithne, who was their foster child, and there they have remained ever since. The Fatha's enjoyed the sovereignity of Leath Cluin for one year, at the end of which Fatha Airgtheach was slain by Fatha Cairptheach, though the latter was under the protection of the Irish Militia, who soon afterwards slew Fatha Cairptheach for violating their privileges. In this action they were assisted by the forces of Fiacha Saibhtine.

297.—Fiacha Saibhtine began his reign in this year, and ruled over Teamhair thirty years. He was then slain in the battle of Dubh Choman by the Collas, his own nephews. This Fiacha defeated the Lagenians in the memorable battles of Dublin, Sliabh Fuad, Smirthine and Carmnaighe.

327.—Colla-Hais was four years King of Leath Chuin, when Muireadhach Tire banished him and his two brothers into Scotland (A.D. 331). Three hundred brave soldiers accompanied them into Scotland, which were reduced in the course of a year to ten. They returned to Ireland A.D. 332, and submitted themselves to the King's mercy, to punish them at his own discretion for the death of his father. Muireadhach received them kindly, and gave them lands and other marks of the highest respect. Soon after the three Collas, assisted by seven battallions of the Fir Domnon, or Domnonians, otherwise called Oilneagnacht, fought the battle of Leath Dearg in Fearmaighe against the Ultonians, A.D. 347, wherein on the side of the latter fell Feargus Fogha, King of Ulster, and of the former fell Colla Meann. Upon gaining the victory, the Collas, with their helpers, the Oilneagmacht, marched to Eamhain (Emania), burnt and destroyed that beautiful city, the royal seat of the kings of Ulster—so that the Ultonians did never inhabit it from that time—and possessed themselves of all the land west of Lough Neacheach and Orgialla in Ulster,

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which possession their posterity have ever since maintained.

357.—Muireadhach-Tire, after reigning thirty years, was slain by Caolbhadh mac Cruinbhadraoi, King of Ulster, at a royal palace near Dubhall, the name of a lake in Oirgialla. In this year was born St. Ciaran—Bishop of Saighir and patron saint of the people of Ossory—in the island called Cape Clear, a promontory of Corcoluighe in the county of Cork. Caolbha, son of Cruinbhadraoi, after he reigned one year as King of Leath Chuin, was slain by Eochadh Muighmheadhain. This Caolbha was the last King of the Rudrician race who obtained the sovereignity of Leath Chuin.

35.—Eocha Muighmheadhain, son of Muireadhach-Tire, after a reign of eight years, died of a fit of sickness at his palace of Teamhair. This Eochadh was defeated in thirteen battles by Eanna Cinnsolach, King of Leinster. Let the reader observe that Fionn Bhara, the first Bishop of Cork, was descended from Brian, son of this Eochad Muidhmheadhain.

366.—Criomhthan, son of Fiodh son of Daire Cearb son of Olliol Flann beag son of Fiacha Muilleathan, became King of Tara and Albania(1) after defeating their different forces in several battles, and reigned thirteen years, when he was taken off by poison given him by his own sister, Mong-fhionn; the draught was so fatally poisoned that she died from only tasting it, which she did to induce her brother to drink of it the sooner, but Niall Noig-hiallach escaped unhurt. Conall Eachluaith became King of Munster at the same time that Criomhthan came to the throne of Teamhair. This Conall was descended from Cormac Cas.

(To be Continued).

1—Scotland.

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Tobar na Molt.

By BLIGH TALBOT-CROSBIE, Esq.

TOBAR NA MULT, the Wethers' Well, is a place of ancient and wide recourse for faithful sufferers, but has not hitherto received its due meed of attention from the critical scientist. Perhaps science has been diffident of intruding upon religion; but though religion and science have been, and are distrustful of one another, and have not foreborne to slander and persecute one another; who can doubt that did they but know each other, and themselves, a little better, they would find that they are very sisters, both daughters of Truth?

Tobar na Molt is situated in Ardfert parish, in the townland of Tubrid Mor, and a mile and a quarter to the N. E. of Ardfert railway station. Tubrid Mor is adjoined on the east by Tubrid Beg. There are, according to Dr. Joyce, no less than sixteen townlands in Ireland bearing the name of Tubrid. It is well to give his account of the word, as a specious local etymology derives it from Tobar Ita, Ita's Well. It seems that an early form of the word 'tobar' occurs in 'tipra,' with a dative case 'tiprait' or 'tiobraid,' and as the preference for an oblique case can be remarked any day in the speech of a foreigner or a child—the latter wont to express his satisfaction by 'me do like'—it is only

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necessary to conceive a Gaelic speaker telling an English that he was going 'go tiobraid,' to the well, and the English, from that day forth going to 'Tubrid.'

The epithet 'na mult' is diversely referred to two legendary incidents, current in the district. The former has the merit of associating the most renowned spring of the South of Ireland with the most celebrated cleric, St. Brendan, the Navigator; whose name has its fittest memorial in the uttermost mountain of the Dingle peninsula, a peak more solitary, more mysterious, more sublime than even Slieve Donard or Croagh Patrick: whose zeal has a lingering testimony in several ruinous foundations in Scotland and in Brittany; and whose legend was the delight of all medieval Christendom. But the congruity of a connection between the miraculous well and the holy man who was born but a few miles away, must not persuade us to hastily conclude that the well owes its first reputation to the Saint.

It is hardly conceivable that such a spring should have been ignored by spring-worshipping druids; nor is it likely that so perfect a natural font would have been missed by early baptists. Moreover, Brendan's birthplace was not so near, nor yet were springs so few, but that some strong inducement must be assumed, for his mother to bring the infant to receive the first Christian sacrament at our present Tobar na Molt.

The only written authority to which I can refer, for connecting St. Brendan with Tobar na Molt, is the 'Betha Brenainn,' derived from the 'Book of Lismore,' a 15th century compilation, and reprinted in the Rev. Denis O'Donoghue's 'Brendaniana.'

This ancient Gaelic biography, fragrant with its unfeigned devotion and simple piety, furnishes a particular account of the Saint's birth and baptism. The rite was administered by Bishop Erc, identified as the Bishop of Lilcach (unknown) and Ferta-Fer-Feig (Slane), St. Patrick's Brehon, who died A.D. 513, at the age of ninety. The name Erc survives in the district: in the townland of Lerrig (Kilmoyley parish) are

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vestiges of a building known as Termon Eirc. More curious; another ruin near Glenderry, in Ballyheigue parish, is known as Kilvicadeachadh (church of Deaghadh's son) which, says Father O'Donoghue, "I believe bears the patronymic of St. Erc of Slane, for his father was Deaghadh, as his pedigree shows, or Dego as it was Latinized by our hagiographers." Two miles east of the ruin Kilvicadeaghadh is an interesting 'holy well' bearing the same patronymic, Tobar Micadeaghadh. I wish Father O'Donoghue had given a reference for Bishop Erc of Slane's parentage—his descent appears in the Martyrology of Donegal, for it is remarkable if a bishop who came at an advanced age, from a remote locality, to administer a wide and savage district is commemorated in one of his foundations by the name of an unknown father. The point deserves investigation.

The whole account in the 'Betha': the place chosen for the baptism, the pagan (?) name, changed, apparently just before the rite, for one suggested by a coinciding natural phenomenon; the baptismal "fee in kind," is all so interesting, as indicating the uses of the primitive church in Ireland, and is besides so touching and natural, that I cannot refrain from citing it in full, adapting Dr. Stoke's translation, but giving the ancient ranns in the original. Alltraige Caille (Brendan's birth-place), or Alltraigi-Cuile-Beara according to a note recurring on the pedigrees of the Saint, was certainly not far from Tralee, and probably in the direction of Fenit. Finnlogha is Brendan's father.

"Now on the night that Brendan was born, Bishop Erc saw Alltraigh Cailli under one marvellous blaze, such as he never saw before, and a wondrous ministering of angels in bright, shining garments, through all the country around about. Very early on the morrow, Bishop Erc arose and came to the house of Finnlogha, and took the infant in his arms and said to him "O man of God," that is, who wilt be serviceable to God, 'take me to thee as thy loyal votary; and a multitude it is that shall greatly rejoice for thy birth, even as now

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do greatly rejoice my heart and my soul.' Thus spake Bishop Erc. Afterwards he knelt down and worshipped before him, and shed many tears for joy, and gave Mobhi to him as name at the first, from his parents.
Ut dixit poeta:—

Mobhi a ainm-sium artus,
O thustidhib, caomh a rus;
Macaom, sluaghact, sirtech, seng,
Ba cobair d'feraib Erenn.

Afterwards there came on a white drop, that is a white fog, which rolled over all Fenit. White was well said of him, for white he was, in body and in soul, ut dixit:—

Braonfind a ainm-sium iarsin,
O curp ocus o anmain;
On braon sin fuair slain,
O epscop Eirc a aon rain.

It is then there sprung forth three purple wethers out of the well, fee of Brendan's baptism, ut:—

Tri muilt corcra, suairc in tred,
Fiacha baistigh Brenainn beg,
Rosgeinset, ba caom an cor,
As in topur an aonor."

It will be noticed that neither in the earlier rann, nor in the biographer's paraphrase, is there assertion, or indeed suggestion of anything miraculous about either the the wethers or the manner of their appearance, anything not to be referred to a natural incident, commemorated in vivid poetic style. Certainly, if a miracle presupposes an exigency, the provision of Bishop Erc's fee can hardly have been miraculous; for Brendan's parents were not poor, and the offering of their rich neighbour Airde, thirty cows and the thirty heifer-calves they had dropped on the night of Brendan's birth, was provision for every due.

The second legend of the Wethers, which has the curious interest of connecting the sources of the little Thyse or Gabhra with its mouth, Tobar na Molt with Ath Caoragh, the Wethers' Well with the Sheep's Ford;

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may be heard from anyone in the Barony, with minor variations, depending upon the imagination and judgment of the narrator. I can but accept the honour I find incumbent, of repeating it to the Kerry Archaeological Society; merely making the conventional premise 'I don't know how much of it's true.'

Well, in the bad, penal times, when the priests were being hunted to death like wild beasts, it happened that a Mass was being said, on some holy-day most likely, before the old altar by the well; and three priests taking part and a great crowd present from all the seven parishes round. There were look-out men set up on the ridges above the well to give the signal if the soldiers were coming; and just before the elevation there was a cry, 'the bloodhounds,' and sure enough, in another minute they came leaping down the slope towards the altar, with their red tongues hanging out between their teeth; and there were the soldiers rising over the ridge behind them. Not one of the priests so much as cast a glance their way, or had any appearance of hearing anything, but all went on with the Mass as quietly as if they were in St. Peter's itself; and of all the people on their knees, every one was afraid to let the first stir out of him; only you could hear the women sobbing. But now when the dogs were drawing close, up out of the well, just under their ugly noses, there leapt three wethers and set scampering off towards the north, like a lunatic making for Gleann-na-nGealt. But if it was for pleasure they began the running, it was for need they continued; for the dogs were soon making grabs at their woolly sterns; and behind the dogs galloped the soldiers, and the justices of the peace—queer justices, and the sheriffs with them: and the wethers kept screeching and the dogs yelling and the soldiers shouting themselves crazy, and such a hunt Finn Mac Cumhall himself never made; over dykes and ditches, over hard and soft, over high and low, five Irish miles to Ath Caoraig; where on a sudden, and just as the priest at the well was giving the people the blessing, the wethers disappeared into the ground; like

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rabbits into their holes; only when the soldiers and justices and sheriffs came up to where the dogs were snuffing round, divil a hole there was to be seen.



Fig. 1 TOBAR-NA-MOLT.

Tobar na Molt lies in a wide shallow basin of pasture land; gentle broad-ridged slopes bosoming it around; save to the west, where the surface and the spring water drain sluggishly away towards the distant line of dull-glowing dunes, and the glaming misty plain of the Atlantic. The well lies a couple of perches from the high road and somewhat beneath. The land is the property of Mr. Donovan; the tenant being one Denis O'Connor, who has provided a gate and passage, so that cars bearing the helpless can drive to within a hundred yards of the well, and who has eased the final stage by a wicket and foot-path. Probably the untilled strip is not the least productive part of the potato field; for though Mr. O'Connor has no fixed toll, and charitably exempts the poorest, he is at least as ready to augment as to rebate, when he discerns opportunity, and the common suspension of judgment at the instance of devotion is

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apt to make his exactions peculiarly easy. The well area is enclosed by a dry stone fence, and forms an oval, lying almost east and west, about 30 paces in length and half as many in width.

The scientist who visits Tobar na Molt, must hope to find no pilgrims; otherwise he will feel the restraint of their devotions as much as they the liberty of his investigations. Besides, who can admit preoccupation in the presence of human suffering and sorrow? On my first visit to Tobar na Molt with a view to this paper, I found two poor women in the green plaid shawls of the country, 'paying their rounds.' The elder had full, ruddy cheeks, but the younger was wasted and hectic, advanced in consumption. It was a day of piercing N. E. wind which fluttered all the rags upon the briar and darkened the sullen, weedy pool. The harsh sun shone from a bald sky, with a bane rather than a blessing in his beams. It seemed no propitious hour to stretch the wasted hand beyond the stars. The consumptive girl coughed in hopeless, miserable paroxysms. I found the scientific attitude utterly unattainable, and after a short time came away, sad at heart.



Fig 2 TOBAR-NA-MOLT.

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The enclosure contains three main objects of interest; the 'well,' the 'altar' and the 'grave.' The 'well' which occupies the western extremity is a more or less circular pool, some 15ft. in diameter and perhaps 4ft. deep, edged with undressed stones.

It is fed from some bottom-spring, and has an outflow to the west, led through a pipe, so that the pilgrim can 'pay his round' dry-shod. But the flow is slight, even after rain: there is hardly a perceptible current in the pool. In a dry season the water sinks considerably; though it is said never wholly to fail; nor is the auspicious trout which, by report, lives solitary, immortal, in those few gallons of clouded water, left to gasp out its life in the sun. From time to time a whiff of gas escapes through the bottom slime, near to the bathing steps, and a bevy of wannish bubbles acending to the dull surface, erupts into the air. It will be gathered that Tobar na Molt answers but little to the ordinary idea of a well: apart from its size, its surface is not deep below the ground, and it has an unmistakable outflow; being, indeed, as I have said, the source of the short but romantic stream, the Tyshe. Yet the Gaelic 'tobar' is, in general, correctly rendered by the English 'well,' in the latter's common, as distinct from its radical meaning, though 'tobar' is common with the significance 'spring.' Perhaps there is no more a single English word than a single Gaelic to express the idea of a spring-fed-pool-source; though a Gaelic compound would be more natural and satisfactory.

To the north of the well, just outside the surrounding fence, is one of those vegetable freaks which, in all countries and all ages have inspired the gazer with a curious bewilderment and awe, in virtue of a certain appearance of remote consciousness and intelligence; suggesting many a beautiful, many a fantastic tale of metamorphosis and ban. An old but vigorous hawthorn of the solecistic thornless kind, after having suffering for many years the edge of the Atlantic blast, which sweeping up the funnel-shaped valley shore the twiggy

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growth to the semblance of streaming tresses, seems to have at last given way at the root, and fallen over, till checked by the stone-wall. This must have happened many a winter ago; for since then the recumbent tree has not merely sent up a shock of new branches from its prostrate tips, but the new bush, sharing in time the fate of the old, has shown similar resource; till now the tree forms a sort of convulsed hedge round one corner of the well-enclosure. I doubt if the branches have really rooted, and believe the whole growth nourished from the parent trunk, but water and stones and brush-wood make investigation difficult, and I could not satisfy myself. The 'well' which I have preferred to describe first, comes last in the rounds of the pilgrim. It is circled once, watch-wise, i.e., with the right hand inward; the rosary being repeated, for the third time, the while. Triple submersion, after 'paying the rounds,' repeated in some instances on the next and even again on the following day, represents importunity in its drastic form; but the most of those who have recourse to Tobar na Molt do not bathe at all, but merely take a varying number of sips of the water. The three great days of pilgrimage to the well are (1) the Saturday before Lá Bealtaine. (2) the Saturday before Saint John's day, June 15, and (3) the Saturday before Lammas, August 1. This choice of days offers a tempting puzzle to the ingenious. St. Brendan of Clonfert's festival is May 16. Remarkable cures are undoubtedly effected from time to time, at the well. Some half-score crutches, one pair pathetically short, moss-grown and worm-eaten, are a rather forlorn witness to immediate restoration of powers lost. Seaghan O Brennan, an Ardfert poet, composed about the middle of last century, what is said to have been a very fine Gaelic ode of thanksgiving for a cure wrought on himself at the well. I would give much to recover a piece the loss of which is an indictment.

The 'altar' stands five paces above the well, and fronts approximately west. The Irish archaeologist is

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accustomed to finding objects of interest and beauty, detached and remote, in the most incongruous situations, and perverted to the strangest uses. But no visitor to Tobar na Mult can fail to be surprised as well as delighted when his eye first rests on the front of the altar. The structure is of undressed stone, recently and indifferently put together. There is no record of its ever having been consecrated, nor, legend apart, of Mass ever having been celebrated upon it. It is heaped with a sorry debris of votive offerings; broken and dissolving images, mouldering scapulars, rusty beads, a mug filled with rain-water, a child's boot, pencils, buttons, pins—pins of all sorts—the pitiful tokens of suffering poverty. The front of the 'altar' consists of a single block of lime-stone, elaborately carved. It measures 39″ in length by 22″ in height, is carved to a depth of 3″, and appears to be set several inches into the mason-work. The design is a triple arcade, with ogee arches and rudely-figured pilasters and corbels: the spandrels and trigons are sculptured with fleur-de-lis: the niches of the arcade are occupied by three figures in high relief. These three figures have a weird, ghastly appearance, for while all the rest of the lime-stone is patched with white and blotched with orange lichin, their three featureless heads look forth black and smooth as marble, worn and polished by the lips of importunate generations. The figure in the centre is a corpse: the head without covering, and showing no attempt to represent hair, rests on a long, narrow pillow: the bands of the cerements cross on the breast: the hands are bent up on the lower part of the body: the feet are not shown. The figure on the right of the corpse wears a mitre: the chin is broken off, leaving the face, which must have been, like the faces of the other two figures, remarkably long, round: the ears are enormous and prominent: behind the neck appears a cowl: the right hand is raised in blessing, the two last fingers bent; on the middle finger a ring. The left hands holds a crozier. Down the front of the habit are

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rib-like grooves curving upwards on either side of a broad central ridge, perhaps an attempt to represent vestments, but giving a ghastly, skeleton effect: the feet are roughly indicated.

The figure on the left of the corpse seems unfinished: the head is not cut clear to the ground; though the blocking left above the shoulders may stand for tresses; the book, flat upon the breast, and the right hand holding it are left merely grooved round, not in clear relief: the skirts of the dresses are crudely fluted: the feet appear.



Fig 3. TOßAR-NA-MOLT.

It will be seen from the photograph, which is better than any description, that the workmanship of the three figures is rude and primitive, without the remotest pretension to art. The sculptor's one aim has been to represent, in the flanking figures, two preconceived and popular personages: the conventional particulars required for vulgar recognition, the mitre, the crozier and the book, he has cut large and clear; the rest he has squeezed

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in with perfunctory indifference; though the all but complete erasure of the features has cost the means of judging the sculptor in the most exacting part of his work. But by what satiric freak, unless the good Bishop, like Father O'Flynn, professed conchology as well as 'thayology,' the sculptor has made the episcopal ears like big scollop shells, is not to be conjectured. There can be no reasonable doubt that the stone was originally part of an altar-tomb; that the central figure represents the corpse it contained, and the mitred abbot and learned woman two popular patron-saints: but as to the date of the work, whence it came, whose remains it covered, and who are the saints, popularly declared to be St. Brendan and St. Ita, portrayed, I will rather hope to find adequate grounds for conjecture, than consent to indulge in deceptive speculation.

The work on the canopy above the figures is remarkably superior, both in design and execution. The ogee arches have a wide bevelled edge; the outside spans on the right and left of the arcade are terminated in boldly-undercut eaves, above the sunken pilasters. The two central trigons terminate in corbels, which however are much eroded. The top of the stone, unlike the sides and bottom, is not dressed to a straight edge, but hewn away irregularly, or perhaps broken in the hurried transport of the relic. The spandrel on the right is much eroded; that on the left, and the two central trigons retain sections of almost undamaged sculpture. The ornamental design consists of elaborations of the fleur-de-lis; bold and free in conception; symetrical without being geometrical, and harmonious without being regular. Is the fleur-de-lis common in Kerry religious ornament? There is an admirable floral cross on the flag of a sedelia in Ardfert Friary: was the fleur-de-lis evolved from the cross and does it embrace an idea of the Trinity? The work is as excellent as the design: the lips and ridges remain firm and clear, and the lobes cleanly gouged and rounded. The story is current that this sculptured slab was at one time removed by a certain

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Cromwellian colonist, who, whether an iconoclast or merely an archaeologist, intended transferring it to his residence at Killeen (now Oak Park) near Tralee. But the ox-cart carrying the stone got no further than the place on the Dun road since known as Bullock Hill, for here it (miraculously) stuck, and not an inch further could be budged. There was nothing for it but to abandon cart and stone for the night, and on the following morning, behold, the stone was (miraculously) restored to its former position by Tobar na Molt. Nor did this act of sacrilige escape condign, if obscure, punishment. The story is circumstantial and seems authentic: Killeen was occupied by a Cromwellian colonist, who owned the limelight-illustrated name of Sankey, Hiram Sankey; it would be extremely interesting to know his end. When were bullocks last used for traction in Co. Kerry? It is worth mentioning, as illustration how tradition concedes to the age, that the tenant of Tobar na Molt from whom I heard this story, said that the spoilers tried horses first, and 'they weren't strong enough, so they put in oxen instead.'

Towards the further end of the enclosure is the 'grave,' which, measuring some 18ft. in length and lying roughly north and south, consists of the broken turfy frame of what seems to have been a large burial-mound constructed of stones and earth; the roof having fallen in, perhaps as the supporting substances decayed. Earth-work looks old in one year and not much older in a thousand: the date of this would be hard to conjecture. Outside the 'grave,' at the northern end, are three small circular holes, made about a foot from each other, in the thickness of the sod; each with a smooth stone as bottom. The stones are of slightly diverse tints and have been polished by the fingers of suffering pilgrims who hope a benefit by rubbing these dics of stone, as well as by leaving pins upon them as 'pishogues': the rings of sod are stiff with rusted pins. Pilgrims are wont to kneel in the southern end of the bath-shaped interior, and here the bank has been scooped out, several

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hundredweights of soil having been removed by generations of sufferers who, taking home the clay, with the duck-weed and slime of the pool, believe they have a sovereign panacea for their plagues.

These superstitious nastinesses, which I mention reluctantly, might be extremely interesting to one untroubled by importunate sympathy, able to consider customs from the strictly historical and not at all from the moral standpoint, and content to frigidly record a fellow-sufferer's doings, without troubling himself as to their mental or spiritual significance; for as it were dishonourable to think such practices Christian, I take them to be purely pagan.

However, philosophical investigations are, happily, not involved in a description of Tobar na Molt.

Since writing the foregoing, I have had the opportunity of visiting Tobar na Molt on a day of pilgrimage, the Saturday before May Day. A stranger, more affecting spectacle I have never seen; nor can I forbear to supplement my paper by a short description. I found the road leading to the Well busy with pilgrims, some of whom had come a long distance by train, proceeding on foot, or by vehicle—on the June pilgrimage, by far the most popular of the three, there is, I am told, a constant stream of traffic along this road, beginning on the Friday night and continuing until the Sunday morning. Drawn up by the road-side above the Well, a score or more of side-cars, pony-carts and ass-carts were waiting. Along the approach across the fields were posted numerous beggars, forming pickets at every gate-way—strong-limbed "tinker" women, baby at breast, abounding in the restless, wild-beast beauty of their class; ragged children, decrepid and blind men, all clamouring for alms and eager to reinforce with effectual prayers the devotions of the generous pilgrims, —"Give me a copper, now, and may you get the benefit of the round." The reliance shown upon the virtue of a dole to these, for the most part, undeserving and disreputable people, was not the least remarkable feature

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of an occasion which, as well in its ideas as in its rites, seemed to belong to the fifteenth rather than to the twentieth century.

But the scene framed by the well enclosure, the kneeling groups and the meandering files; the green and the brown shawled figures—most of the pilgrims were women, with earnest—O God, how earnest—faces, moving lips, and fingers busy with the rosary; the grave, bare-headed young men; the sundry individuals who struck at once the eye and the heart; a gaunt, white-haired man, his great height warped, and his wrinkles set in pain, paying his round with a grotesque, leaping gait; a slender, well-dressed young woman, with stern eyes and lips, and kneeling beside her, a little cripple girl with white, drawn face; a lusty cripple boy, his plump cheeks crimson with the effort of plying his crutches on the soft sward,—so many sufferers, some at the beginning, some at the end of a life of suffering, all so intense, so absorbed, their whole soul wrought and strained to the highest pitch of unmitigated, uncompromising faith, completing their rounds with a passionate eagerness that hardly brooked the restraint of twisted and shrivelled limbs, and kneeling in oblivious rapture of instant supplication before the "grave" and "altar"—and not a sound heard, not an articulate syllable from all those clamant souls, not a footfall as the filing sufferers made dusky, sinuous tracks upon the lush, vivid grass, and, moreover, heightening by contrast the ecstacy of the pilgrims, the mundane face of the brawny toll-collector posted at the entrance wicket —all made a spectacle which no one could possibly see without emotion, and which no one having seen with emotion could ever possibly forget. Moreover, the throng of poor sufferers, in the walled enclosure, trailing themselves round the sluggish pool and kneeling in an agony of spiritual concentration before the lip-worn altar-stone, was invested with something of unreal, incredible, absurd, by the immense hilarity of the spring day, the white Siberias of cloud floating in the radiant

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blue, and far away, beyond the green fields and the patches of golden furze, far out in the shining ocean, the mighty swell hurling itself in gigantic exuberance of snowy foam upon the craggy ridge of Ilaun Barnach.

I am indebted to Mr. T. Nunan, of Ardfert, for the following particulars of the orthodox method of "paying a round," which I append for the use of members of the Society:—

(1) Kneel before the grave and say five paters and five aves, and offer the 'round' for the benefit desired.

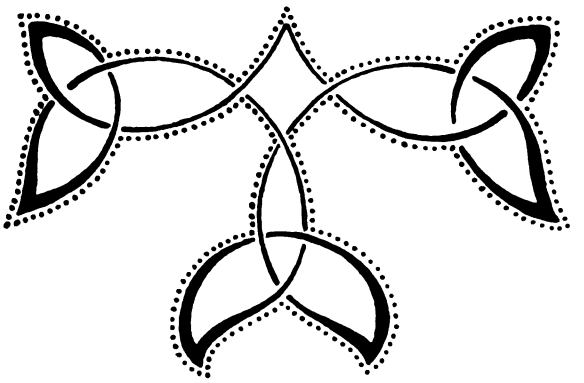
(2) Circle the grave twice, watch-wise, reciting the rosary. Should the rosary not be completed at termination of the third round, kneel at the grave and finish.

(3) Start from the grave beginning a second rosary, and circle the well, watch-wise thrice, reciting the while.

(4) Kneel before the altar and recite a third rosary.

(5) Dip thrice under the water in the well, take three sips, and dash the water thrice on to the face.

(6) Kiss each of the three figures on the altar-stone, or sign each with the Sign of the Cross, the devotee signing himself similarly at the same time. This completes the 'round.'



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Notes & Queries

SOME DOLMENS UNMARKED ON ORDNANCE SURVEY (6").

1. There is a cromlech stone or Dolmen in Fermoyle townland, Prior parish, Barony of Iveragh, on the north side of the road from Cahirciveen to the Glen. It lies on the surface of the bog. It is covered with small cup markings, and has also two oval depressions like the imprint of a bare foot.

The stone measures seven feet four inches in width, ten feet in length, and is about twelve inches thick.

On the hillside above it is an oval platform edged with large flagstones, and containing the remains of a rough stone building.

2. In the parish of Caher, townland of Ballycarberry west, there was a cromlech in good preservation a few years ago;

3. And in Aghatubrid townland are the ruins of another, near Kilpeacon graveyard. None of these remains are marked on the 6-inch Survey.

4. Near Killoluaig burial ground, parish of Killemlagh, townland of Killoluaig is Calluragh-na-beepery. This is evidently the remains of a large dolmen.

M. J. DELAP

READING ROOM.

The following Books are in the Reading Room of the K.A.A., and are mostly on loan there for the use of members:—

Betham: Irish Antiquarian Researches, 2 vols.

Croker: Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland.

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Desmond Survey.
Fergusson: The Irish before the Conquest.
Gilbert: The Parliament House, Dublin.
Hogan: Description of Ireland in 1598.
Hull: Pagan Ireland.
Hussey: Reminiscences of an Irish Land Agent.
Ireland under the Tudors (Edinburg Review).
Journal of the Anthropological Institute, 2 vols.
Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland, 1892, 1893 and 1896, 3 vols.
Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries Ireland, 1904 to 1909, 5 vols.
Joyce: Place Names of Ireland, 2 vols.
Lane: English-Irish Dictionary.
Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry.
Lord Chancellors of Ireland (Quarterly Review)
Macalister: Ancient Settlement in Corkaguinny.
McCarthy: Life of Florence McCarthy Mor.
Man (Anthropological Society).
Memoirs of the O'Brien's (Edinburgh Review).
O'Mahony: The Sunny Side of Ireland.
Rowan: Lake Lere
Smith: Irish Life and Character.
Vicar's: Prerogative Wills of Ireland.
Wilde: Ancient Legends of Ireland.
Westropp: Ancient Forts of Ireland.

Also a number of journals and magazines of the following societies—The Royal Society of Antiquaries, the Cork, Waterford, Galway, Limerick and Kerry Archæological societies.



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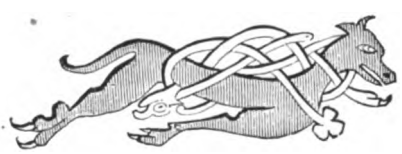
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M'CARTHY MOR

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Contents

Clann Carthaigh (*continued*). By S. T. McCarthy, Esq. - - - - - - 447

Kilmelchedor. By Archdeacon Rowan - 467

Antiquities near Ballynacourty. By the Bishop of Limerick - - - 477

Annals of Innisfallen (Part II.) - - 480

A Short Account of the Irish Pipes. By Miss H. Godfrey - - - - 489

The Rider of the Ruins. By E. Talbot Crosbie, Esq. - 492

Notes and Queries - - 496

List of Members - - 497

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Contents

Clann Carthaigh (*continued*). By S. T. McCarthy, Esq. - - - - - - - 447

Kilmelchedor. By Archdeacon Rowan - 467

Antiquities near Ballynacourty. By the Bishop of Limerick - - - 477

Annals of Innisfallen (Part II.) - - 480

A Short Account of the Irish Pipes. By Miss H. Godfrey - - - - - 489

The Rider of the Ruins. By B. Talbot Crosbie, Esq. - 492

Notes and Queries - - 496

List of Members - - 497

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Clann Carthaigh.

(*continued.*)

DONAL REAGH was succeeded by his son, Dermod-an-Dunaidh, who was prince of Carbery in 1452. He (Dermod) married Ellen, daughter of Teige MacCormac, Lord of Muskery (who died in 1448), and had issue (1) Finghin, (2) Donal, who pre-deceased his father, and (3) Dermod, who had a son named Finghin.

About this time there arose some sept feuds which caused rather widespread disturbance. The Four Masters record that, in 1477, "Cormac, grandson of Donogh, son of MacCarthy Riavach in Desmond, was taken prisoner by Cormac, son of Teige, son of Cormac "(9th Lord of Muskery)," and by the sons of Dermod-an-Dunaidh, his uncle's sons; and a commotion arose all over Munster through that death, and the Southern half was completely spoiled between both English and Irish." The Donogh here mentioned must have been Donogh of Enniskean, brother of Dermod-an-Dunaidh, and his opponent, Cormac Laidir of Muskery, who seems to have been joined by Dermod's sons, near cousins of Donogh. Nearly half a century later, in 1521, Cormac Laidir's son and Dermod's great-grandson fought side by side, against the Geraldines, at the battle of Mourne Abbey.

Dermod-an-Dunaidh's successor, his eldest son, Finghin, is said to have been in high favour with Henry VII., King of England, who, by letters dated in the 3rd year of his reign, i.e., on the 21st May, 1484, empowered him, in

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conjunction with Cormac Laidir, Lord of Muskery, to get the homage of the Independent Irish Chiefs.

Under a document, dated at Kinsale the 2nd April, 1493, Geoffrey, son and heir of Patrick Galway, made over to Finghin (or Florence) and his wife Catherine, daughter of Thomas Fitzgerald, 8th Earl of Desmond, all that he possessed "au lieu de Balinglany." In return, under a deed of the 8th August, 1493, the Lord of Carbery took him under his protection throughout the whole territory, and gave him the use of the forest "pour son entretien et celui de sa fabrique." Finghin and his two eldest sons, Donal and Cormac, in order to defeat the operation of the Law of Tanistry in their family, surrendered his territory to the English crown; and, in return, received a grant, dated 20th Novr., 1496, carrying a right to leave it to his heirs, with an obligation, amongst other things, to pay a yearly tribute of £20, to furnish 20 horsemen, and 40 foot soldiers, whenever called upon, and to maintain, for a quarter of each year, 100 "bonnaghts" or gallow-glasses. It is worthy of notice that this grant was executed by Lord Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare,[1] who was then Lord Deputy, and whose daughter Eleanor was married to Finghin's son, Donal. Besides his sons, Donal and Cormac, already mentioned, Finghin had two others named Donogh and Dermod.

Finghin was succeeded by his eldest son, Donal. The most important event, during his reign, was the defeat of James, Earl of Desmond, at a battle near Mourne Abbey, by the two united septs of the MacCarthys. A long-standing feud had existed between the Fitzgeralds and Mac-

[1] This Earl was summoned to England, to answer charges of treason, etc. His quick-witted speeches, when examined before King Henry VII., took the royal fancy. Amongst other things, he was charged with having set fire to the Cathedral of Cashel, to revenge himself on the Archbishop. He excited shouts of laughter by exclaiming that he would not have done it only that he had heard that the Archbishop was inside! At the end of the enquiry his accusers declared that "all Ireland could not rule this Earl." "Then," replied King Henry, "in good faith, this Earl shall rule all Ireland." The result was that he was pardoned, restored to his post as Deputy, and married the King's first cousin, Elizabeth St. John.

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Carthys, in fact ever since the defeat of the former, by the latter, at Callan, in 1261. Since then many sanguinary encounters had taken place between the clans. In 1521 the head of the Fitzgeralds, James Earl of Desmond, burst with a powerful force, into Muskery, and ravaged, burned and destroyed, till Cormac Oge, son of Cormac Laidir, collected his "rising out" joining also, to himself, as allies, the forces of his son-in-law, Cormac MacCarthy (second husband of his daughter Julia, and eldest son of Donal MacCarthy, the reigning Lord of Carbery). The opposing forces met near Mourne Abbey, and Desmond was totally defeated, with the loss, as a writer of the time tells us, of "XXIV. baners of horsemen, which bee XX under every baner at the least, and under some XXX, XL and L, and amongst others was slain the said Erle, his kinsman, Sir John Fitzgerald, and Sir John of Desmond taken, and his son slain."[2] The Lord Lieutenant, writing on the 25th September, to Henry VIII., reported that it was no great hurt that Desmond, Anglo-Norman though he was, was punished, "for of late, he had lent more to the counsel of Irishmen than of me, your Grace's Lieutenant"; and added that though the Irish "may wax more prouder" in his discomfiture, still he regards the said Cormac as the man of all Irishmen (save one) "who would most gladly fall into English order." Donal MacCarthy Reagh is styled Prince, Lord of Carbery, in a treaty of Armistice entered into, on the 24th January, 1512, between himself and Sir Pierce Butler, of Drumenche. He held in fief the Castle and territory of Kilgobban, and was Lord of Carbery for 26 years. He regained possession of the Castle of Kilbrittain. He married, first, a daughter of Cormac Laidir, Lord of Muskery, by whom he had two sons, who left no progeny. He

[2] The victory, according to some accounts, was owing to Sir Thomas, the Earl's uncle and implacable enemy, who joined the MacCarthys. It is said that he charged at the head of the horse, and broke the Earl's main body of gallowglasses. The Fitzgeralds, like all other Irish Chieftains, had their domestic quarrels about succession.

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married, secondly, Eleanor Fitzgerald,[3] daughter of Gerald, 8th Earl of Kildare, by whom he had four sons, who were successively Lords of Carbery, under the Law of Tanistry (which appears to have been followed, in spite of the deed of 1496, already referred to, executed by their grandfather, Finghin Mac Dermod), namely, (1) Cormac-na-Haoine, his successor; (2) Finghin, who married Catherine, daughter of Donal-an-Dromin, Prince of Desmond; (3) Donogh, who married Joanna, daughter of Maurice Fitzgerald, by whom he had, with other issue, the well-known Florence MacCarthy, the Tower prisoner, who married the Earl of Clancais' daughter; and (4) Owen "of the Parliament," who succeeded to the Lordship of Carbery, on the death of his brother, Donogh, in 1576. It may be mentioned that this Owen of the Parliament married Ellen, daughter of Dermod O'Callaghan, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Florence, called "of Iniskean," married Eleanor, daughter of Edward Fitzgibbon, the White Knight, and widow of Cormac MacCarthy Reagh, son of Donal-na-pipi, by whom he had, with other children, a daughter Catherine, who married Dermod, younger son of Tadg-an-Duna. From the above-mentioned Florence of Iniskean and his wife Eleanor proceeded, according to Monsieur Lainè, the branch called "of Timoleague," which, despoiled of its possessions in 1690, passed into France, and established itself at La Rochelle, where it recently became extinct. It was represented, before the Revolution, by Charles-Denis-Jean-Marie, Seigneur de la Martière, Captain in the King's Regiment of Dragoons, who was admitted to the honours of the Court, on the 26th February, 1786, with the title of Viscount MacCarthy.

Donal MacCarthy Reagh died in 1531, according to the

[3] She married, secondly, one O'Donnell of the North, and it was stipulated in the marriage settlement that he should protect her young nephew, Fitzgerald, son of her brother, the Earl of Kildare, then aged 13. But when they went to Ulster, she discovered that he had arranged to betray the boy. She therefore sent him away privately to France, and when she was assured that he had got there safely, she refused to live any longer with her treacherous lord, whom she thereupon left.

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Annals of Loch Cé, wherein he is referred to in the following terms:—

"MacCarthy Reagh, i.e., Donal, son of Finghin, son of Diarmad, a young Lord of Cairbre, and a man of general bounty to poets and men of learning, and a lord of most excellent law and rule, who had given a general invitation to all the men of Erinn who wished to avail themselves of it, died."

Donal was succeeded by his eldest son, Cormac "na Haoine." This is the prince whose prowess and skill contributed so much to the victory at Mourne Abbey over the Earl of Desmond in 1521. There is an allusion to him in a curious document, written on the 6th October, 1535, by Stephen Ap Parry to Cromwell (being a narrative of Lord James Butler's expedition to various places in Munster) which throws an interesting side-light on his character. The passage runs as follows (the spelling being modernised):

"Moreover there came into my Lord James, one the which is called my Lord Barron, that can speak very good English, the which is a very young man not past 17 or 18 years of age, that is a great inheritor, and, if he had right, and leyd very sore to Cormak Oge, and to one Macarte Ryghe, the which is son-in-law to Cormak Oge, and is my Lord of Kildare's sister's son. And so the answer of Cormac Oge was this that he would be sworn to do the King true service, and to put in his pledge to abide the judgment of the Deputy of Ireland, or the council of Ireland, between him and any man in Ireland that can lay to his charge that he hath done him any wrong, in land or goods. Macarte Ryagh came in, upon a safe conduct, and his answer was that he would not be sworn unto the King, nor put in no pledge for to do any man any right that he had done wrong to; for that, that he hath won with his sword, he will keep it with his sword. And then my Lord James, being sore moved at him, saying unto him it should be unto his pain; he making answer he would abide it; with a proud countenance like the Garadyns (Geraldines) as ever I saw."

In saying that what he had won, he would hold by the

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sword, this young chieftain was evidently alluding to the victory which he had won at Mourne Abbey. As will be seen from the letter just quoted, he married Julia, daughter of Cormac Og MacCarthy, Lord of Muskery (widow of Gerald Fitzmaurice, 15th Lord of Kerry, who was killed in Desmond in 1550, a month after his marriage), by whom he had a son, well known as Donal-na-pipi.

Donal-na-pipi succeeded, as Prince of Carbery, on the death of his uncle Owen, which occurred about 1593. There had previously been some litigation between uncle and nephew; the latter, as then Lord of Kilbrittain, having claimed possession of certain lands and castles. This came to an end in 1590, when it was adjudged that Donal should enjoy certain townlands. Donal had, in his uncle's life-time, pledged himself, in securities of £10,000 to Florence MacCarthy (the Tower prisoner), his first cousin and son of his uncle Donogh, to take no steps to divert the succession from Florence, who was entitled to succeed him (Donal) under the Law of Tanistry. Nevertheless, to win the favour of the Government, he surrendered his territory to the King, thereby barring the succession of Florence, who was an object of special fear and anxiety to the Government. By this means also he secured, for himself, and as he supposed, for his posterity, the entire territory which, up to that time, had been the common property of the sept.

Donal-na-pipi acquired his nickname from the fact that (as Smith states in his "History of Cork") "in his time, some pipes of wine were cast on shore at Burrin; and consequently were his right, being a wreck, and accordingly he had them, which in those times was considered very fortunate, the wreck being esteemed God's goods." Donal, in 1608, obtained a commission, as Captain of Infantry, in a regiment commanded by Colonel Valentine Brown. He died in 1612, having married Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Roe Fitzgerald, by whom he had, with other issue, a son Cormac, who predeceased his father, leaving by his wife, Eleanor Fitzgibbon (daughter of Edmund Fitzgibbon, the White Knight, and widow of Florence MacCarthy of Iniskean), a son Donal.

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This Donal succeeded his grandfather, Donal-na-pipi, and married Ellen, daughter of David Roche, Lord Fermoy. After his death in 1636, Charles I., by Letters Patent, granted her one-third of her husband's estate for dowry, as also permission to marry again, of which she availed herself. Donal MacCarthy Reagh was High Sheriff of the County of Cork in 1635.

By his wife, Ellen Roche, he left a son, Cormac, who succeeded him, and who became Commander of the Munster clans in the Rebellion of 1641[4] (his lieutenant being Tadg-an-Dunaidh MacCarthy of Dunmanway). Most of his estates were confiscated by Cromwell in 1652, but he got back a portion of them at the Restoration. The rebellion, so far as MacCarthy Reagh's territory was concerned, was put down without much difficulty, and all resistance seems to have collapsed at an early stage of the war. Bennett, in his "History of Bandon," states that, in the beginning of 1642, Cormac MacCarthy Reagh came to Bandon, and declared that he would fight for the English. In this way he induced Lord Kinalmeky, who commanded the garrison, to give him a supply of arms. We are unable to say whether his profession of loyalty was merely a pretence, in order to obtain arms, or was sincere, and he was induced on his return home to change his plans. Be that as it may, the fact remains that he distributed them amongst his men, and next day marched to attack the town of Bandon. He came within a mile of it, and then, facing to the north-west, advanced as far as a place called Knockagarane, about half a mile south of the Bandon river, expecting to be there joined by the Hurleys from Ballinacarriga, and by Teige-an-Duna from Dunmanway. There he threw up a strong earthwork, where he remained some days, as if undecided what to do. In the meantime, the Bandon Militia[5] marched

[4] In this capacity he acted under Donagh Lord Muskerry, the Confederate Chieftain, who was, by Charles I., appointed Lord President of Munster.

[5] The Bandon Militia was enrolled when the great rebellion broke out. It consisted of 400 men, divided into four companies. It was the first military body raised by the English colonists. They were called the "Valiant

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out, and their unexpected appearance caused rather a panic amongst MacCarthy's men, who rushed away where they could, many being shot down as they ran, and many others being overtaken and piked.

After this reverse at Knockagarane, the MacCarthys did not offer much determined resistance. With the exception of the fortress of Carriganass (held by Dermod MacCarthy, and a considerable garrison for the Irish, and his Chieftain, MacCarthy Reagh), which was stubbornly defended, but ultimately overpowered with great loss of life, all the others fell into the hands of the Bandonians. Regarding this castle of Carriganass, which stood on the Bandon river, Bennett states that Dermod MacCarthy, on being called on to surrender it, at first stoutly refused. When, however, the enemy proceeded to cannonade it, he hung out a white flag, as if intimating his desire to surrender. The Bandon men put off a boat with a party to arrange the terms; but, when it was half way across the river, the besieged suddenly opened fire, killing two of the passengers, sinking the boat, and even firing at the crew struggling in the water, some of whom they wounded. Infuriated by their act of treachery, the Bandonians lost no time in bringing their big gun to bear, with destructive effect, on the towers and battlements of the castle, and poured forth a murderous discharge of musketry. The retributive vengeance of the besiegers was, as Bennett states, "terrible, and extended itself even to those who had any signs of life remaining."

There is a contemporary account of this siege given in a letter from a certain Tristram Whetcombe, a merchant of Kinsale and Mayor of that town in 1642, to his brother Benjamin, a London merchant. This letter is inserted in a paper by J. F. Fuller, Esq., entitled "Kinsale in 1641

Bandonians," the "Fire-eaters," the "Bandon Militia"; and its representative in recent times has been known as the South Cork Light Infantry Regiment of Militia. Originally enrolled as Volunteers, they must have formed part of the regular army by August, 1642. They had their work cut out for them, as they were encircled by hostile people, and a string of hostile garrisons.

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and 1642," which appeared in the first quarterly number of the "Cork H. and A. Society's Journal" for 1907. It does not quite coincide with Bennett's description. Whetcombe gives some rather ghastly details regarding the siege and the course pursued in effecting an entrance into the castle. He recounts how they besieged the castle (which he describes as being "very strongly built and well contrived for defence as most in the province") for 30 hours "without doing any great hurt," and with a greater waste of powder than they could spare; how then the men, in desperation, made way through the wall of the "Bawn" to the gate and iron grate, and unhanging the grate, fired the gate and entered the castle under the arch; and how, the rebels having got over the arch, where it was impossible for the besiegers to reach them, the latter proffered them quarter, which they resolutely refused. "So," he continues, "we had no other means but to gather what straw and fewel we could, and make such a fire under the arch as it grew in a few hours too hot for them, and some of them made through the house in hope to escape, but we killed them all as they came down, only two were kept a day or two, to try would they discover anything worthy of their lives; the fire continued all night and the next day, till at last were brought forth such a pack of *rosted rogues* as never were in man's lifetime seen; and at last, as many as were not rosted enough, were hanged."

The warders of Kilgobban castle, also belonging to MacCarthy Reagh, were so disheartened on hearing of the terrible punishment inflicted on the garrison of Carriganass that, before the Bandon soldiers could reach them, they abandoned it. So also fell easily Downdaniel castle, held by Teige O'Connor; Poolnalong, held by Patrick Roche; Coolemaine, another MacCarthy fortress; and finally Kilbrittain castle, MacCarthy Reagh's chief and favourite residence, and which had been that of his ancestors ever since one of them had dispossessed the De Courceys some 400 years previously. This castle was a large one, and surrounded by a strong wall, on which there were half a dozen

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turrets strategically placed for defence. One would suppose that a vigorous stand would have been made here at least. So far as is known, the only particulars that can be gleaned of its surrender are such as are contained in the contemporary account given by Whetcome, from which we have already quoted. In regard to Kilbrittain castle, he states: "Captain Cooper left in Coolemain a ward of 18 soldiers and marched to Kilbrittain, where my Lord Kinalmeaky proffered quarter but they refused it, only desired to have two days respect (sic) until they could send to MacCartie which was denied them; whereupon our forces began to play their Piece of Ordnance upon the castle, and a Sow carrying towards the walls, to set the Myners a work, they began to make signes and cried for quarter, and it was granted and agreed upon. That they should march away with their cloaths, 2 horses, and 2 or 3 swords for some of the chiefest of them. The rebels, at the first, were very busy with their small shot, but did none of ours any harm; a ward of 32 musketeers were left in the said castle until the Provisions and booty be brought away, which they value in both castles to be worth £1,000 sterg. at least."

It appears that MacCarthy Reagh himself was only a few miles away, at the rebel camp in Killavarrig Wood, and had no knowledge of what was going on. Bryan MacSwiney, who was in command of the castle, could not have made any determined resistance. Probably he did not feel in a position to resist a strong assault, especially as he could not get any aid from the large force at Killavarrig.

Charles MacCarthy Reagh, as commander of the Munster clans, and his lieutenant, Tadg-an-Duna, have been reproached for many barbarities supposed to have been committed under their orders or with their sanction. Depositions given at the time go to show that various persons were seized by the above chieftains and stripped, cruelly treated, and in some cases even hanged; but from others it is evident that many such acts were perpetrated in MacCarthy Reagh's absence; that in some cases his timely arrival saved persons from death, and that he occasionally caused his underlings

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to be hanged for cruel actions committed by them. There was one incident in connection with which he has incurred some obloquy, namely, the execution of a certain John Burrowes and some of his family. We treat of this case rather fully as being probably a typical one, and as it illustrates the difficulty often incidental to such cases of "putting the saddle on the right horse."

John Burrowes, an extensive sheep farmer, who held lands under Dermot McDaniel Carthy, alias Mac-ni-Crimen, of Ballinarohur Castle, on some of his cattle being seized during the rebellion, resolved to put himself under the protection of his landlord. Mac-ni-Crimen consented, and gave him shelter for a time; but at length, probably growing tired of his charge, took them to the Irish encampment at Killavarrig Hill, where they (i.e., Burrowes, his wife and two sons) were hanged, by order, as was alleged, of their protector.

Mac-ni-Crimen, when examined by the Commissioners who enquired into this and other cases, declared that it was not he but some soldiers of his son's company who took the Burrowes to Killavarrig Hill, and he intimated that they deserved their fate, as they had treacherously sent some communications to the Bandonians about the weakness of the castle.

A statement made by MacCarthy Reagh went to show that the Burrowes were removed by his own soldiers, and were put to death by order of his commanders to whom he referred the case; and further, that Mac-ni-Crimen was not at home when they were taken away. Mac-ni-Crimen's wife alleged that MacCarthy Reagh signed the order of execution. This MacCarthy admitted, but said he did so, after the parties were executed, upon the importunity of Mac-ni-Crimen's wife.

An eyewitness stated that Mac-ni-Crimen came up and asked MacCarthy Reagh what he should do with the Burrowes, whereupon MacCarthy, who had just heard of the capture of Kilbrittain Castle, and was not in an amiable mood, replied "Go you and them to the devil, and afterwards where you will."

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The upshot of the matter was that the Commissioners believed Mac-ni-Crimen to be the murderer, and they hanged him accordingly.

Mr. Daniel MacCarthy Glas, after careful research and a close scrutiny of the available records, arrived at the conclusion that Charles MacCarthy Reagh was "a humane and just man, hating cruelty, and severely punishing it at times." He sums up generally, regarding the acts of cruelty and plunder complained of, that such things are not unusual in times of civil war, and that had any of the Irish chiefs found anyone to listen to their complaints, or to show any disposition to indemnify them, they doubtless would have made depositions quite as harrowing.

Very little is known about Charles MacCarthy Reagh after the capture of Kilbrittain Castle. It is said that he led, for some time, a wandering life, being sometimes heard of in Carbery, and at other times in Bere and Bantry. Monsieur Lainé says that he was, in 1657, Colonel in command of a company in the Duke of York's Regiment, and afterwards Colonel of MacCarthy Reagh's Regiment, which served successively in France and Spain. He is known to have been alive in 1667.

By his wife, Eleanor, daughter of Cormac Oge, Lord Muskery, he had issue (1) Finghin (of whom presently), (2) Donall, who raised a regiment of foot for King James II.,[6] married Maria, daughter of Colonel Richard Townsend, and dying in 1691, was interred at Timoleague; and (3) Donogh, who married Margaret de Courcey, by whom he had:

(a) Alexander, who served on the side of James II. at the Boyne, and at Aughrim; (b) Donal, who died in the French Service; (c) Eleanor Susanna, who married Baron de Hook of the French Service; (d) Ellen, who married John Lord Kinsale; and (e) Catherine, who married Pierre St. John, of Macroom.

[6] Vide supra, under the notice of Colonel Charles MacCarthy Mor, an order by the Duke of Tyrconnell for the formation into one regiment of the two regiments raised by him and Colonel Donal MacCarthy Reagh.

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Charles' eldest son, Finghin (or Florence), born in 1625, went to France in 1647, where he married the daughter of a French Count. He was killed in a duel in 1676, leaving two sons, Charles and Dermod. Dermod, born in 1658, married in France, and died circa 1728, leaving a son Donal. This latter Donal, born in France in 1690, came to Ireland, and lived near Dunmanway, where he married Kate O'Driscoll. By her he had several sons and a daughter Margaret, who married Richard O'Neill, Hereditary Prince of Ulster.

Finghin's elder son, Charles, came to Ireland, where he married and died, leaving a son, Owen. The latter died in 1775, and was father of Charles MacCarthy, born about 1721, who married, in 1749, at Ballymodan Church, Bandon, Catherine, daughter of Charles Bernard, of Palace Anne (she died in Bandon at the age of 103).

This Charles MacCarthy, a solicitor, was Seneschal of the Manor of Macroom, recorder of Clonakilty, and clerk of the crown for the County. He was succeeded by his son, Francis Bernard MacCarthy Reagh, who, in 1793, married Elizabeth (d. 1844), daughter of William Daunt, Esq., of Kilcascan, and died in 1821, leaving, with other issue, Francis B. MacCarthy (who married Miss Tresilian, and left an only son, Francis B., late of Bandon, who married Miss Leader), and also William Daunt MacCarthy (b. 1801), who married Margaret, sister of Judge Longfield, and left, with other issue, Francis Longfield MacCarthy Reagh, born 1827. This latter married a widow, by whom, it is stated, he had one son, name unknown.

THE GLENNACHROIM BRANCH.

Before proceeding with the history of the Glennachroim branch, we shall here excerpt, from Mr. MacCarthy Glas's work, the following brief notice of the outline and extent of that territory, written by the Revd. T. Lyons, formerly C.C. of Inchigeela:—"The length of Glen-na-chroim is about 12 English miles, in a straight line from north to south, and about 10 from east to west. Besides the present

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parish of Dunmanway, are included about 5 large townlands in the parish of Iveleary, one of Bantry, I think, four of Kilmeen, and one or more of Drinagh. There may have been some castles on the south side which I am not aware of, besides Togher, Dunmanway, and Ballinacarriga. The name at present is applied only to the valley around Togher and enclosed by the Owen, Shehy, and Coolsnaghtig Hills. Dr. O'Donovan is in error when he says that, according to the present tradition of the peasantry, it included only the portion of the present parish of Dunmanway to the south of the Bandon river."

It may, further, be mentioned that when in 1178 the O'Donovans were driven by the O'Briens from their ancestral seats about Limerick, they settled on the banks of the Bandon at Kinneigh, and that some three quarters of a century later Crom O'Donovan, their then chief, was slain by O'Mahony's people at a place called Inisfeil on that river. From that event the name of Crom was given to the valley through which that river runs.

And now to proceed with the history of this sept, we shall go back to the murder, in 1366, of Cormac Donn, the first Lord of Glennachroim, by his nephew, Donal Reagh, soon after succeeding his (Cormac's) eldest brother, Donal Glas, as Lord of Carbery. He (Cormac) left issue (1) Dermod (who was taken prisoner by his first cousin, Donal Reagh, given over to the English, and by them murdered in 1368); (2) Felim; (3) Donal; (4) Eoghan; (5) Tadg; (6) Finghin; (7) Cormac, and (8) Donogh (who had a son Finghin, who had a son Cormac, whose daughter married Donogh O'Crowley).

Cormac Donn was succeeded, as Lord of Glennachroim, by his second son, Felim (à quo the "Sliochd Feidlimidh," the tribe name of the sept). Felim was succeeded by his son, Tadg of Dunmanway, and the latter by his son, Finghin. Finghin had a son, Cormac, who succeeded him in due course. Cormac had two sons—Finghin and Dermod-na-Glac (i.e., "of the combats"). Finghin was thus fifth in descent from Cormac Donn, married a daughter of O'Sulli-

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van Bear, and had a son, Cormac, who succeeded to the Chieftainship on the death of his father. Soon after this there occurred a tragedy which caused great sensation throughout the country, namely, the murder of this Cormac MacFinghin by his first cousin, Cormac Donn, eldest son of Dermod-na-Glac. We have already referred to the murder, in 1366, of Cormac Donn, the first Lord of Glennachroim, by his nephew, Donal Reagh. And now, some two centuries later, we find history repeating itself, and the same fate meted out, by another Cormac Donn, to his first cousin, Cormac MacFinghin. In this latter case, however, the murderer, instead of succeeding to the Chieftainship, was in due course of law apprehended, tried, and executed for the crime in 1576. At the time of his execution, the lands of Glennachroim were declared by parliament forfeited to the Queen. Nevertheless they appear to have been usurped, doubtless without the knowledge of the Queen, by the murderer's next brother, Tadg-an-Fhorsa ("of the forces"), who succeeded to the Chieftainship. He seems to have encountered no opposition in taking possession of the lands of his sept, and enjoyed them for several years.

It was not until Finghin MacCormac, the son of the murdered Chieftain, was growing into manhood, and beginning to move in the matter of his inheritance, that any voice was heard to question Tadg's right. When he saw danger ahead, Tadg was not slow to avail himself of a sure and ready means to secure his estate. He petitioned the Queen to be allowed to surrender the lands of Glennachroim into her hands, that he might receive them back as a *royal grant*, to be held henceforth on English tenure. The result was that the sept possessions were accepted, and regranted by Queen Elizabeth. Finghin MacCormac, in 1587, addressed to the Lords of the Privy Council a petition, penned for him by Florence, the Tower prisoner, praying that the surrender, by Tadg-an-Fhorsa, be not accepted, and that the lands be put into his possession. He received no redress. In 1594 he put in another petition, wherein he described himself as having been maimed abroad in her

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Majesty's service, and solicited a pension. This was likewise disregarded, and Finghin had to submit to his fate. Tadg-an-Fhorsa died in Cork in 1618. Shortly before his death he went a second time through the process of a legal surrender and regrant of his sept lands, and, on its completion, duly declared by his will his disposal of them. He was married twice, first, to a daughter of Donal MacFinneen of Ardtully, and secondly, to Ellinor, daughter of Rory MacSheehy, who survived him.

On the death of Tadg-an-Fhorsa his son, Tadg-an-Duna, or "an Dangean" (of the dun or fortress), succeeded to the estates. He was also called "Tadg-na-Feile," or the hospitable, from the boundless hospitality of his housekeeping, as pictured by the poems of Donal-na-Tuile, a well-known bard of the time, and neighbour of his. Tadg had a large estate, and on it were two castles, Dunmanway and Togher, between which he spent his time, though the latter of the two is said to have been his favourite place of residence. He was hospitable in the extreme. Even in those days, when every man of note kept an open house, the hospitalities of Tadg were on such a gigantic scale that they overtopped all others.

It is recounted that one day some of his people arrived at Togher with a large booty of beeves and sheep, seized during a predatory excursion into O'Sullivan Beare's country, and having safely housed them were on their way home. Just a little way off they stretched themselves on the river bank and began to drink of the running stream. Tadg, just returned from hunting, saw them from an upper window of the castle, and called out to them to desist. He ordered his steward to bring out some casks of his best wine and empty them into the still water of a portion of the river lying between the ledges of two projecting rocks—since known as Tadg's "Punch Bowl." Here the thirsty kerne drank themselves into a helpless state of inebriety; even the fishes, including the eels and the water rats, became blind drunk!

Tadg's extravagance was unbounded. Anything he

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desired to have, he strained all his powers to possess. He was so pleased with the first coach he ever saw that he insisted on buying it from its reluctant owner, who, in the end, was induced to part with it for four ploughlands of Tadg's estate. Tadg's castle and its surroundings are described as little short of an Irish elysium by the bards of the time. "Their strongholds"—those of Tadg and his brother Chieftains—says Donal-na-Tuile—"were filled with beautiful women, and quick-slaying cavalry viewing them; mirth, drunkenness, playing on harps, poems, songs, bards, and the bacágh shouting and roaring, and soothsayers were at their feasts; there, too, were gamblers in mutual discord, and large-bodied vagrant gluttons contending."

Such is a graphic description of one of Tadg's "at home" days! The jovial life above described lasted from 1618, when Tadg came into his estates, until about 1641. Then a time had come for sterner proceedings. Tadg became a very conspicuous character in the rebellion of that year. When Cork fell into the hands of the insurgents, Donogh Viscount Muskerry, afterwards Earl of Clancarthy, was appointed its Governor. He selected his brother-in-law, Charles MacCarthy Reagh, Lord Carbery (who also became a very conspicuous character) as Commander of the Forces in the open country. The latter at once called all his forces to arms, and chose Tadg-an-Duna, his kinsman, as his second in command. This was probably the last recorded instance of the Tanistic chiefry, the "Rising Out," and truly never more readily was the call obeyed.

We have already, a few pages back, referred to certain cruel acts perpetrated during the civil war in Carbery, and the degree of responsibility for them attaching to MacCarthy Reagh and Tadg-an-Duna. It cannot be denied that many barbarities were proved against their followers, not a few of which had been committed, within their own castles, by minor chieftains like Mac-Crimen of Ballinarohur and MacCarthy of Phale. So far as Charles MacCarthy Reagh is concerned, it is difficult to believe that any atrocities were countenanced by him, as he is known to have

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inflicted condign punishment on persons guilty of such things.

Tadg-an-Duna, however, was a man of a different stamp, and it is to be feared that he cannot be so easily acquitted of all participation in some of those cruel proceedings. Though hospitable and generous to a fault, he was reckless of life, and tyrannical, his harshness extending itself even to members of his own immediate family. Some instances of this are given by Mr. Bennett in his "History of Bandon."

Tadg did not live to be called to account for his share in the troubles of those times, or even to see the end of those troubles. He is said to have died on the 24th May, 1649. He certainly must have passed away before 1652, for it is known that, in this last-mentioned year, his widow and young son, Callaghan, were living in Dunmanway Castle; and in certain evidence given by the widow she speaks of him as her "late husband." Tadg-an-Duna is considered the "Last Lord of Glennachroim," not that some of the lands of his ancestors did not still remain with the family; but because he was the last of them who ever performed any public act of Chieftainship.

He was twice married; firstly, to a daughter of Bryan Owen MacSwiney, of Cloghda Castle. By this lady, who was granddaughter of Owen MacSweeny of Mashanaglass, he had two sons—(1) Tadhg-an-Fhorsa, and (2) Dermod, ancestor of the MacCarthys Glas. He married secondly, Honora, daughter of Donal O'Donovan, Lord of Clan Cahal, by his wife, Joan, daughter of Sir Owen MacCarthy Reagh, by whom he had (3) Honora, who married Owen, fourth son of Donal-na-pipi; (4) Joan, who married Cormac MacTeig MacCarthy of Ballea; (5) Eoghan, founder of the Ballynoody family; and (6) Callaghan.

Tadhg-an-Duna's eldest son, Tadhg-an-Fhorsa II., could not have outlived his father very long, as he died in 1650. He was living at Togher Castle in 1641. On the 28th October of that year he married Gennet Coppinger, the widow of Nicholas Skiddy, of Cork, by whom he had one

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son, Tadhg, who could not have been more than eight months old when his father died. Tadhg-an-Fhorsa II. possessed, in fee, the town and lands of Fearlaghan, known by the names of Tullagh-Glas, Gortnidihy, Malcullanane and Carrigatotane, in the parish of Kilmeen, Barony of Carbery, Co. Cork. Also the town and lands of Curryboy, Coolmontane and Tullagh, in Inchigeela. These lands he devised, by will, to his wife Gennet, for her life, in lieu of dower. But after his death she and her son, whilst in the enjoyment of the property, were expelled therefrom and deprived of it by the usurping powers.

Tadhg-an-Duna II., only son of Tadhg-an-Fhorsa II., was quite a child on his father's death, who secured the possession by obtaining a "Decree of Innocence," so that although the lands of Togher were confiscated after the war of 1641-52, those of Dunmanway were then saved. But, after the 3rd October, 1691, Tadhg's patrimony was seized by the Williamites, so that at the time of his death, in 1696, his position was as thus described by a national poet:

"Ni Tadhg-an-Duna d'ainim
Acht Tadhg, gan dun, gan daingean,
Tadhg, gan bo, gan capall,
Im-bothainin iseal deataigh,
Tadhg gan bean, gan leanbh," &c.

Or, in English:

"Not Tadhg of the Dun they name,
But Tadhg without Dun, without Daingean,
Tadhg without cow, without horse,
In a low smoky little cabin,
Tadhg without wife, without child."

A more poetical pen describes Tadhg's last dwelling:

"Crioch a bheatha sa marbh anaonacht
A n'aras cumhang a luib Chnuic sleibhe."

Or

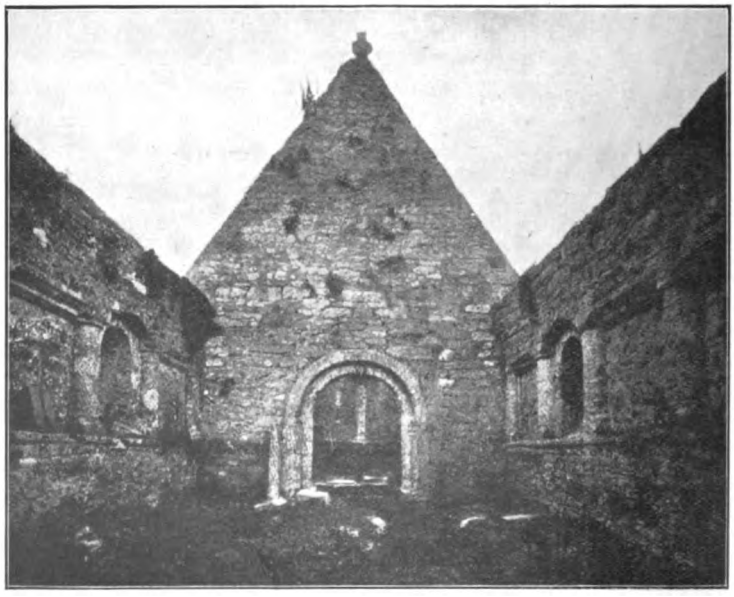
"The end of his life and death together,
In a narrow dwelling in the curved ridge of a mountain."

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Tadhg-an-Duna II. married Honora, daughter of Daniel O'Donovan, Lord of Clancahill. He left issue two sons; one of them was of weak intellect and "no better than no son at all"; in fact, an "iaroma," or encumbrance. The other son accompanied the army of his countrymen into France. This son can have been no other than the officer in the French army whose name is recorded as "Jacques MacCarthy Dooney, Capitaine," who fell at Landen in 1693. Whether he had any issue is unknown.

According to some genealogies, Tadhg-an-Duna II. had a son Felim, ancestor of Charles of "Butler's Gift," Jerry-an-Duna, &c.; but this seems to be an error, and the Felim in question was son of "Jeremy Cartie" (second son of Tadhg-an-Duna I.), of whom we shall treat presently, and from whom, in reality, all the descendants of the Chieftains of the Sliochd Feidlimidh now living proceed

(To be continued).



KILMELCHEDOR CHURCH.

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Kilmelchedor.

By the late ARCHDEACON ROWAN.

THE very ancient structure which forms the subject of this memoir appears to deserve more notice than it has hitherto obtained from the Irish antiquaries, and I offer the following remarks as the result of personal observation and inquiry, with the hope of attracting the attention of someone more competent to decide on the probable age of the building. As I take up the subject with more zeal than knowledge, I submit myself to the friendly correction of those more competent to discuss questions of antiquarian interest.

The Church of Kilmelchedor stands in a small hamlet and parish of the same name in the Barony of Corkaguinny; it lies at the foot of Brandon mountain (one of the loftiest in the Kingdom), and near to the harbour of Smerwick.

At the top of the neighbouring mountain is a small ruined oratory and a well of great reputed sanctity, still resorted to for the purpose of penance and pilgrimage. These are dedicated to St. Brandon or Brendon, who is also venerated as the original founder of the Diocesan Cathedral of Ardfert.

I find two individuals of this name mentioned by Archbishop Ussher in his list of Irish Saints of the second order, but I cannot find anything to enable me to connect either of them with Kerry, unless indeed we can suppose that the later St. Brendon, the son of Fin or Abbelogas, may have visited and left his memorials in Kerry during seven years'

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journeyings (concerning which Ussher says, "Prodigiosa feranter fabuta"). Mr. Smith, without giving any authority, says that St. Brendon was born in Kerry, but finished his studies in Connaught, under St. Jarleth of Tuam as his preceptor; and this agrees with Ussher's account, who further says that he was buried at Clonfert (Cluain Fearther). Following the statement of some MS. (ineditus scriptor vitae ipsius), it occurs to me possible that in copying or quoting from a MS. a mistake may have been made of *Clon*fert for *Ard*fert, and the latter may have been the place of St. Brendon's sepulture. The tradition of the country unhesitatingly affirms it to be so, and the stone effigy is always shown to strangers as St. Brendon's gravestone. This, however, for reasons too long to insert here, I believe to be a vulgar error, and that this effigy, which was found but lately, is the monument of one of the mitred abbots of the adjacent abbey of comparatively modern date.

The neighbourhood of Kilmelchedor is further remarkable for some of those small stone-roofed cells or chapelries which are supposed to belong to a very rude and remote age. Mr. Smith has given, in his "History of Kerry," a print of one of these buildings which still remains in complete preservation. There is also a ruined Hospitum of some extent standing near the church, popularly called the "Dean's House." All these circumstances indicate that at some remote period, of which neither record nor legend remains, this district was resorted to by religious anchorites, probably attracted alike by the sanctity and seclusion of the place and the awful sublimity which Nature presents in the land and ocean scenery.

The church, as represented in the annexed ground plan, stands due east and west, and consists of nave and chancel, separated by a richly decorated archway. The nave is 26 feet long by 16 feet wide and 13 feet high to the springing of the stone roof. The chancel is, as usual, of smaller dimensions, being 16 feet long by 12 feet wide and 11 feet high to the roof, also of stone. There are five windows, all of small dimensions, one in the east end of chancel and one

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at each side of the nave and chancel, all of them having arches of the same order of architecture as the ornamented doorways. The entrance is at the west end through a beautiful arch of the Norman, or, as it is perhaps more correctly called, Lombardic style of architecture, of which, I believe, the only remaining specimens are to be found in those buildings confessedly most ancient in England and Ireland. When I first saw Kilmelchedor the nearest model for its architecture in English churches that I was acquainted with were the arches of the western door and nave of Rochester Cathedral, but having since had opportunity of seeing the Church of St. Peter in the east of Oxford, with its remarkable crypt and older part of the chancel (for the building is patched and repaired of a much later date), I found in them a more exact resemblance in size and style of ornament for Kilmelchedor Church.

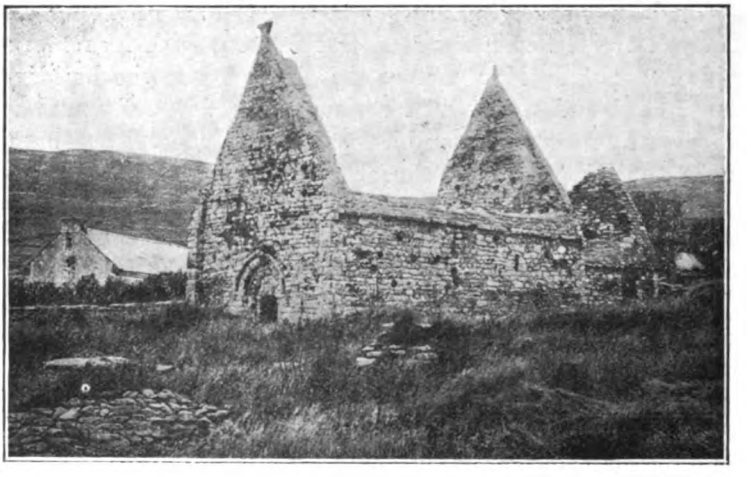
In Ireland, on reference to Grose (or rather to Ledwick's letterpress), I find a description of Cormac's Chapel or Crypt at Cashel which may, "protanto," be copied as a description of Kilmelchedor. Thus he tells us it is a "stone-roofed chapel," with "nave and choir," with columns supporting the grand arch leading into the choir, the columns *short and thick*, the portal *semicircular*, with nail head and *chevron mouldings*," the windows also "are round." So far the description is suitable to both buildings. I also find in Grose, p. 15, plate iv., figure i., an engraving of a doorway in *Desert Church*, Co. Clare, which is rather more richly ornamented, but not remotely resembling the doorway of Kilmelchedor; but Grose gives no guide to the probable date of its erection.

The construction of the roof of Kilmelchedor Church appears also to furnish proof of its great antiquity—the high pitch of the roof (one of the tests by which truly ancient churches are most distinguished from modern imitations) is remarkable, and a sufficient portion of the original roof remains (as shown in the annexed plate) to prove that it was originally a stone-roofed building. I have never been able to visit the ancient stone-roofed *Church of St.*

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Douglas in the neighbourhood of Dublin, but as I can judge from a slight sketch and description of it whch I have seen, I conclude that the roof of Kilmelchedor Church had been differently constructed. Dr. Ledwick says: "The roof of St. Douglas is of stone, the stones which cover it are not large, but so well bedded in mortar that, after many centuries, this roof admits neither light or water."

The roof of Kilmelchedor seems to have been constructed rather on the principle of the ancient or curious Stone



KILMELCHEDOR CHURCH.

Hermitages in the neighbourhood, namely, by one stone overlapping the other with sufficient bearing to sustain the weight while advancing the arch, somewhat as the geometrical staircase is formed. Nature has covered the ruin of Kilmelchedor roof with a thick coat of ferns and other parasitic plants, but standing within the nave we see several feet of the original roof remaining as firm as when it was laid many centuries ago.

The chief peculiarity of Kilmelchedor Church is the elaborate ornamenting of the nave, which would attract attention if found in one of our most richly adorned

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churches, and is peculiarly noticeable in a building in this remote situation and of so little note or celebrity.

At about four feet from the floor, the nave shews through its whole length a series of square panelled compartments divided by short massive pilasters projecting from the wall. These compartments, twelve in number, are in perfect preservation, and appear to have been originally executed in *polished stone*, now somewhat weather worn; the nave windows occupy a compartment at each side, and are surmounted by plain round arches, as represented in Plate 1.

I have given a drawing of the semicircular arch separating the nave and chancel, to show the rich tracery with which it is ornamented, and also to exhibit *one* of the two small arched apertures springing within the chancel directly from each side of the doorway, the use of which I am quite at a loss to conjecture, and Mr. Petrie, an eminent antiquarian, who visited this building, professed himself unable to explain. Negatively, I can say they could not have been intended to give light, for the walls of the chancel rise directly behind them, with a small interval between. Neither could they have been niches for effigies of saints. for the bases slope up window wise at an angle of 45 degrees. Finding mention in the description of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel of "Crypts" between the arches of the choir and nave and the stone roof," it is just possible that some such recess, though of a very small size, may have existed in Kilmelchedor chancel to which these arched apertures gave light. I do not think that a Rood loft could have found room in so confined a space.

The semicircular head of the western doorway is filled by a single flagstone, on the inside face of which is a projecting figure showing traces of sculpture, but now too much effaced to admit more than a guess at what it was originally intended to represent. I incline to think it represented a crucifix, but if so, nothing remains but a mere truncated body with traces of a garment wrapped round the middle. At each side of the east window are two projecting grotesques, and two similar ornaments form gargoyles at the tops of the buttresses of the western gable.

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At the left hand of the entrance within, a broken font lies beside its base, yet fixed in the earth, while the pillar which supported it has been removed to make part of a rude monument in an opposite corner of the church.

In the churchyard a rude gigantic cross formed of a single stone stands among the graves in an upright position; another, of more ingenious formation, lies half prostrate, and has been built into the wall of a rustic tomb. An ogham stone, much defaced, is in the churchyard, and these stones are found in several places in the vicinity.

It now remains to endeavour to ascertain the date of the erection of this curious and ancient church; and, first, to correct an error, both as to its founder and the etymology of its name.

Mr. Smith, the historian of Kerry, who would appear never to have seen the building himself, has adopted the vague tradition of the country which answers all inquiry by calling it "a church built long ago by the Spaniards"; and following up this notion, Mr. Smith interprets the name to mean "The Church of Saint Melcheor" or "Melchedor" (a common Spanish name). As every observation I could make on the style of the building induced me to think it a mere vulgar error to attribute the building of the church to the Spaniards, I also set down Mr. Smith's interpretation of the name as part of the same error, and in looking for a better etymology I conceive that I have been led to some curious and authentic information on the subject.

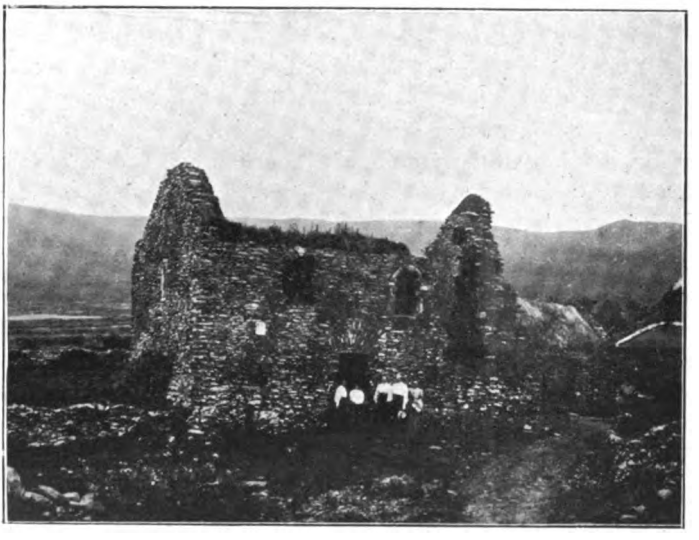
The tradition which ascribes the building of Kilmelchedor Church to Spaniards appears to rest on no better foundation than the fact that about the end of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1579) a party of Spaniards[1] conducted by Saunders (a Papal Nuncio very conspicuous in the troubles of that period) appear either to have landed or to have been forced ashore at Smerwick, where they entrenched

[1] They came on the requisition of James fitz Morris (Desmond), landed July, 1579, having three ships, afterwards taken by Captain Courtney. The Legate Hallowed "Fort Dolores" (Ware's "Annals.").

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themselves with field works, and built a small fort, the remains of which are traceable to this day, and which is known by the name of "Fort-del-ore" (the fort of gold), or "Fort Dolores" (the fort of grief). I cannot exactly ascertain which is the correct name, but I incline to adopt the latter, in consequence of the "sharpe execution and short end" made of the garrison by the Lord Grey (vide Spenser's "View of the State of Ireland"). These remains, which are visible on the south-west side (Smith erroneously says north-west, another proof he never saw the place) of Smerwick Harbour, are in themselves a subject of antiquarian interest, especially when associated with a recollection that the siege of this little fort brought Sir Walter Raleigh as an officer[2] and Edmund Spenser as Lord Grey's

[2]Sir Wm. Winter coming with a fleet from England—Lord Grey, with Captain Raleigh, Denny, Macworth and others, invested the Fort by land. On the fourth day the besieged, finding no relief from Spain, or from the Earl of Desmond, with whom they had deposited their treasure, proposed to surrender on conditions; which being refused them, they all of a sudden cried out "Misericordia," and yielded without any conditions at all (Ware's "Annals").



CONVENTUAL BUILDINGS, KILMELCHEDOR.

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Secretary to this remote spot, but they form a very slender foundation for Mr. Smith's etymology; and it seems quite inadmissible to connect them with this church, which, from the style of its architecture, must be referred to some centuries earlier.

Being quite unable to obtain any clue to the meaning of the name in the neighbourhood, I was indulging in some speculations as to whether the name was not compounded of Irish and Hebrew, when having an opportunity of visiting Dublin, I was directed by the kind assistance of Mr. Owen Connellan to several passages in the Irish MSS. of the Academy, from whence I am enabled to submit to the judgment of others two speculations, either of which will enable us to arrive with some accuracy at the date of the building.

In the "Book of Ballymote," folio 125, p. 2, column 5, "Miolchidar" is mentioned in a catalogue of Irish saints, also in a MS. calendar (Smith's MS.) there is an entry (under date A Pridie Id. Maii 14), of which I subjoin a copy, and give the sense as follows: "Miolchedor, son of Ronan, son of the King of Ulster, of Kilmielche on the sea shore at Knuck Brennaun (Brandon) in the West."

This is a complete identification of the individual with the locality, and by considering the derivation of the leading word we shall be enabled to interpret the name of the church correctly. Miolchedar is a compound word, of which the first part means "Bald" or "Tonsured," and it is found as a common prefix (spelled in English "mel" or "moel") to the names of ancient Bishops or Saints of the Irish Church. Dr. Hanmer, in his Chronicle, introduces it as "a British word taken hold of by the Irish," and gives the same meaning for it; and Archbishop Ussher, in his notice of the three orders of Irish Saints, mentions, among their distinctions, the varieties of tonsure used by each class. With this information the name of Kilmelchedor may be rendered thus, "The Church of Aider the Bald or Tonsured"; and as the name Moilchedar is found in a Catalogue of Saints of the eleventh century, but *not found in an*

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earlier one, we may rest satisfied that the founder of this church lived some time about that period.

While in course of inquiry as to the descent of the individual here spoken of, I lighted upon another suggestion, which, if tenable, gives a more exact account of the builder of this church. In the "Book of Leacan," folio 51, p. "a" or "1," we find his genealogy beginning thus:—

Meaɫceaɫcair (kilcur—church founder).
n ronan, son of Ronan.
n m (?) echaio, son of Eohee, King of Ulster. See Keating's and O'Flaherty's Ogygia, where you can ascertain the year in which he reigned, &c.
m muɫeðið, son of Murray.
m ðaɫɫain.
m ɫugðach.
m ɫengura fiðo.
m fiɫgɫra ðrðoeaðaið.
m imchaða.
m finðcaða.
m ɫgamain.
m fiaðaćfin.

Now, the first name here given is differently spelt from the entries in other books, and the meaning of the name varies considerably. Moil-cill-cur would mean "the tonsured church founder," and this would suggest that this word was an epithet prefixed to the name of the second individual, McRonan, with whom the genealogy would in that case really begin. While I was turning over this idea in my mind, I happened to refer to a list of the Bishops of the See of Ardfert before its union with Limerick in 1664, when I found mention made, under date A.D. 1152—1161, of a McRonan[3] seated here before 1152, and immediately

[3] Extract from Ware's list of the Bishops of Ardfert:—"MacRonan, called Bishop of Kerry, was present at a synod held under Cardinal Paparon in 1152." "Moel Brendan O'Ronan died the 10th of kalends of October, 1161, and was buried at Ardfert. I cannot but think that MacRonan and he were one and the same."—Ware.

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after an entry of "Mel Brandon O Ronan," who died 1161. From this remarkable coincidence I am disposed to conclude that this Bishop was the founder of *Kilmelche* or Kilmelchedor, and the more from the agreement of the date in which he lived with the period at which the Norman style of architecture prevailed, as we find that it was shortly after superseded by the Transition and Early English styles.

I submit these speculations to correction, merely observing that the very latest date which can be assigned to this hitherto unnoticed building ranks it among the most ancient of the ecclesiastical remains of Ireland.

(Signed) A. B. ROWAN.

Belmont, Sept. 20th, 1843.



ORATORY OF KILMELCHEDOR, CO. KERRY.

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Antiquities near Ballynacourty.

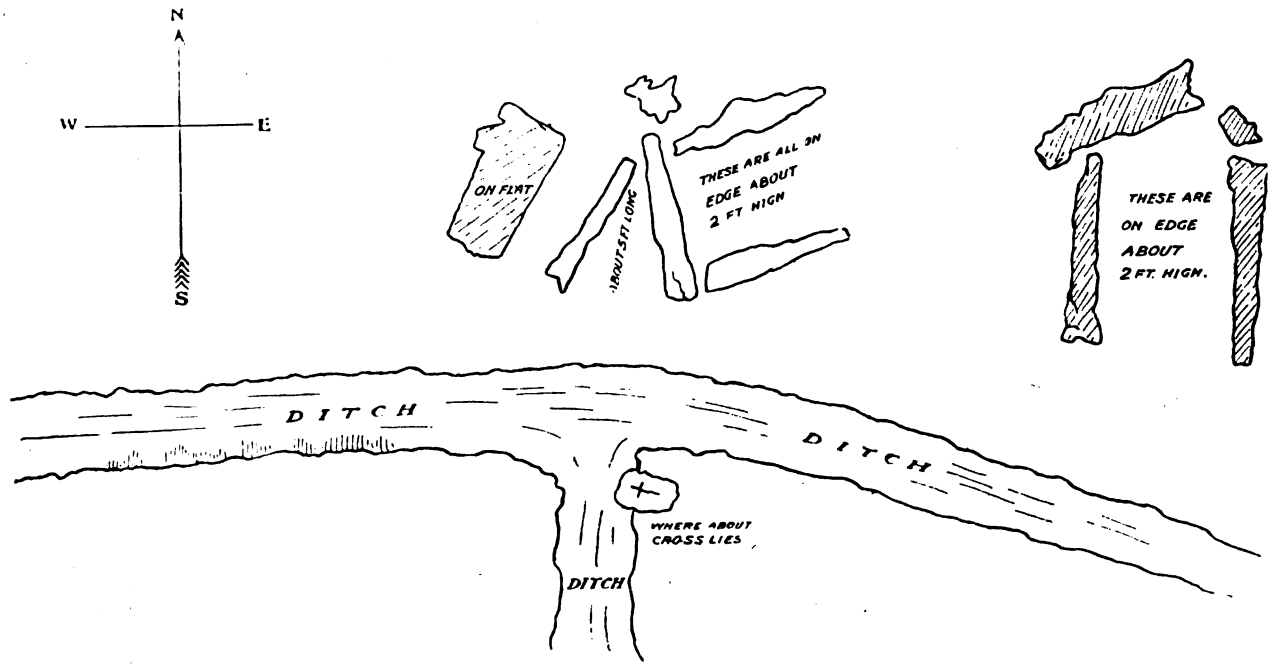
By the LORD BISHOP OF LIMERICK, ARDFERT, and AGHADOE.

IN October last I went with my friend, Rev. W. E. Bentley, to the townland of Knockane, Ballinacourty, Annascaul. We went to examine a stone upon which a peculiar cross was carved and of which I send a rough sketch. It is somewhat of a Maltese cross in shape, but with a peculiar loop, or curve, in the right-hand member of the upper part of the cross. Some suggested it might be a portion of a crozier joined with a cross. On my showing the sketch to an expert antiquary in Limerick he was of opinion that it was a development of the familiar symbol  and showed examples in a book to confirm this.

The stone upon which this cross is carved is lying on its side where two fences meet. Mr. Bentley tried to get a photograph of it, but the light was unfavourable. Just at the other side of the fence in which this cross lies there are two cromlechs in a very ruined state. I send rough sketches of the ground plan of these.

Not far from Annascaul, to the south, behind Ardrinane, Rev. H. A. H. Orpen found a stone with cups and circles carved upon its surface. It is very rudely carved, and gives the idea of the carving having been begun and then

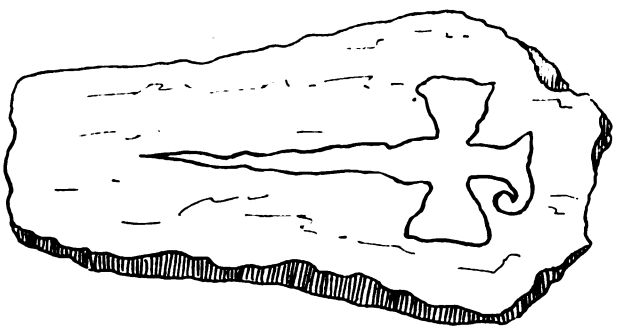
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ANTIQUITIES NEAR BALLYNACOURTY.

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abandoned. The curves are not true circles, and more like ellipses. About 100 yards from this is, what seems to be, a a cloghaun, in the corner of a field.



CROSS NEAR BALLYNACOURTY.

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Annals of Innisfallen.

(*continued.*)

A.C. 366

CRIOMHTHANN, son of Fidheach, son of Daire Cearb, son of Oilioll Flann Beag, son of Fiacha Muilleathan, became King of Tara and Scotland for thirteen years, having defeated (his opponents in these countries) in many battles, until he died of poison given to him by Mongfind, his own sister, and Mongfind herself died of the poisoned drink, having tasted of it to encourage her brother to drink it, and Niall of the Nine Hostages[1] escaped safe.

Conall Eachluath became King of Munster after Criomhthann became King of Tara. This Conall was of the race of Cormac Cas.

A.C. 379

Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of Eochy Moyvane, ruled over Leath-Cuinn for twenty-seven years, until he fell by Eochaidh, son of Enda Cindsiolach, King of Leinster, who was banished from Ireland, Niall being encamped in France. Eanna Airgtheach, son of Conall Eachluath,

[1] The way this sentence is thrown in one would think that Niall was also in danger of being poisoned, and perhaps Mongfind meant also to poison him as well as Criomthann, her own brother. This Criomthann was the senior head of the race of Heber. It is said in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" and in the "Book of Ballymote," fol. 145, b, a, that Mongfind poisoned him, with the design of having her eldest son, Brian, as King of Ireland; but it did not avail her, as Niall of the Nine Hostages, son of King Eochaidh, succeeded after the poisoning of Criomthann. Criomthann died at Sliabh-Oighidh-an-righ, or the mountain of the tragic death of the king, now the Cratloe mountains, north of the City of Limerick. Mongfind herself died of the effects of the same poison in Inis Dornglas, not far from the same place. See note to Ann. 378, Four Masters.

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was King of Cashel and Thomond, and Nadfraoich, son of Corc, son of Luighidh, King of Desmond, in the time of this Niall.

In the ninth year of the reign of Niall of the Nine Hostages St. Patrick was brought on ship board to Ireland, in the sixteenth year of his age, together with many other Britons.

Kieran and Dèaglan came from Rome as bishops to propagate the faith in Ireland. Kieran, after preaching the Gospel in Innis Cleire[2] and all Corca Laoighe, founded the Episcopal See of Saighir,[3] in Ossory, and Dèaglan founded another See in Ardmore, in the Decies. A.C. 402

Dathy, son of Fiachra, ruled over Ireland for twenty-three years, until he was killed by lightning, and he was buried at Croghan, in Connacht. A.C. 406

Ailbhe of Emly came from Rome as Bishop to propagate the faith in Ireland. A.C. 412

Iobhar Iubhar[4] came as a Bishop from Rome to Ireland. The Aran Islanders and the people of Magh Geisilli[5] were converted by him, and he was afterwards interred in Begeire[6] in Hui Ceinnsealach. A.C. 420

Laoghaire, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, ruled at Tara for thirty-five years, until he was slain by the Ltinstermen in *Sean-Magh-Life*,[7] as he gave the guaranties of the Sun and Moon that he would not demand the *Boroimhe*[8] of the Leinstermen after he was captured by them in battle, but did not fulfil his engagement. A.C. 428

Patrick came as a Bishop from Rome to Ireland to propagate the faith therein. Aongus, son of Nadfraoich, King of Cashel and Desmond; Carthan Fionn, son of Blod, A.C. 432

[2] Cape Clear, not Clare Island in Mayo.

[3] Seirkieran, in Ely-O'Carroll, King's County.

[4] Ibhar of Imblech-Iubhair, i.e., Ibhar of Emly. He died in A.D. 500.

[5] A plain about Geashill in King's County.

[6] Beggery Island in Co. Wexford.

[7] The Old Plain of the river Liffey, principally in Co. Kildare, wherein are Old Kilcullen and many other historical places.

[8] The celebrated Boromean tribute.

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son of Cas, King of Thomond, and many others were baptized by him.

A.C. 463 Oilioll Molt reigned twenty years, until he was slain in the battle of *Ocha*[9] by Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, Muircheartach, son of Earc, Feargus Ceirbheol, son of Conall Creamthaine,[10] and Fiacha Lonn, son of Caelbradh, King of Ulster.

A.C. 483 Lughaidh, son of Laoghaire, reigned twenty-five years, till killed by lightning for having disobeyed Patrick.

A.C. 492 Patrick, chief Apostle of Ireland, died. In the ninth year of the reign of Niall he first came to Ireland.

Aongus, son of Nadfraoich, King of Desmond, and Muireadhach, son of Eoghan, son of Niall Naoighiallach, died.

A.C. 508 Muirceartach, son of Earc, reigned twenty-five years.

The battle of *Druim-Deirgthinne*[11] was fought by Fiacha, son of Niall, against the Leinstermen.

A.C. 523 Saint Bridget died this year; also Ailbhe of Imblech-Iubhair; Buithe,[12] son of Bronach, and Eochaidh, son of Aongus, King of Munster. Criomhthann, son of Eochaidh, succeeded him the same year.

A.C. 533 Tuathal Maolgharbh reigned eleven years, till he was slain by Maolmar O'Hartagain at *Grellach-Eilte*[13] in Connacht, and he himself was slain at the same time.

Eoghan Bel, King of Connacht, was slain by the two sons of Muirceartach, son of Earc, viz., Feargus and Domhnald.

A.C. 544 Diarmaid, son of Feargus Ceirbheol, reigned twenty-one years, till he was slain by Hugh Dubh, son of Suibhne Meann, King of Dal n-Araidhe, at Rath-beg, in Magh Line.

[9] Near Tara, in Meath.

[10] The name of a district in Oriel.

[11] This place is not well identified. There is a district in Desmond called Clann-Deirgthinne.

[12] St. Buithe of Monasterboice, Co. Louth.

[13] Greallach, i.e., paludosus, the miry place; eillte, damarum, of the does. It is questionable where this Greallach was situated. O'Donovan, Four Masters, 538, No. Z, gives it as being at the foot of Sliabh Gamh, Co. Sligo. See also Onomasticon, sub voce.

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This Diarmaid descended from Conall Creamthainn, son of Niall.

The Fair of Tailte was held this year by Diarmaid, and Kieran of Cluain was at that Fair. There came to him a man who took a false oath on his hand, for doing which the head fell off him in presence of the men of Ireland. Kieran brought him with him to Cluain to be healed, and he lived for six years afterwards. Abacuc was his name.

During the time of this Diarmaid, son of Ceirbheol, died Kieran-mac-an-tSaoir,[14] Finnen of Cluain-Iorard,[15] Columcille, Baoithin, Colum, son of Criomthann, Molaise, Caimin of Innis Cealtra,[16] and Tal of Killcullen.[17]

The battle of *Cuil Conaire*,[18] wherein was slain Oilioll Anbhann, King of Connacht.

The battle of *Cuil-Dreimne*[19] was fought against Diarmaid, son of Ceirbheol, by the two sons of Muirceartach, son of Earc.

Domhnall and Feargus reigned conjointly for one year only. A.C. 565

The battle of *Gabhra*[20] *Life* took place at this time. Brenainn of Birr died at the age of three hundred years.

Baodan, son of Muirceartach, son of Earc, and Eochaidh,[21] reigned conjointly for three years, till they were slain by Cronan, son of Tigearna, King of the Cianachta of Gleann Geimhin.[22] A.C. 566

Ainmire, son of Seadna, reigned three years, till he was slain by Bran Dubh, King of Leinster. This Ainmire was of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall (of the Nine Hostages). A.C. 568

Baodan, son of Ninnidh, reigned at Tara for one year only. Cairbre, son of Criomthann, was King of Desmond, A.C. 571

[14] Son of the artizan. [15] Clonard, on the river Boyne, Co. Meath. [16] Holy Island, in Lough Derg, Co. Galway. [17] Old Killcullen, in the Co. Kildare. [18] In Ceara, Co. Mayo. [19] Between Drumcliff and Sligo town. [20] i.e., Gabhra of the Liffey as there were other Gabhars. G. Aicle, near Skreen, &c.

[21] Son of Domhnall, son of Muirceartach.

[22] At Glenn Chroicinn, vallis pellis, the vale of the river Roe, near Dungiven, Co. Londonderry.

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and Aodh Caomh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Bailldearg, was King of all Munster.

A.C. 572 Aodh, the son of Ainmire, reigned twenty-seven years, till he was slain at the battle of *Bealach Duin*[23] or *Dunbolg*.

The great Convention of *Druim Ceat*[24] was held in the time of Aodh Ainmire.

A.C. 575 Brenainn of Clonfert died.

A.C. 577 Cairbre Crom, son of Criomthann, King of Desmond, died, and Fergus Scannall, son of Criomthann, succeeded him as King. He reigned for seven years: he died, and Feidhlim, son of Tighearnach, succeeded him, Ann. 584.

A.C. 590 Feidhlim, son of Cairbre, died. He was King of Desmond for eight years, and was succeeded by Gabhran, son of Eanna, and Amhalghaidh.

A.C. 599 Aodh Slaine, son of Diarmaid, and Colman Rimidh, son of Baodan, reigned conjointly at Tara for six years, until Aodh Slaine was slain by Conall, son of Suibhne, and Colman Rimidh by Lochan Dealman (or Dilmana).

A.C. 600 Fachtnan, the first Bishop of *Ros*[25] *Ailthire*, died in *Corca Laoighe* in *Laoghaire Ruis*.[26]

A.C. 601 The death of Comhgall of Beanchair.[27]

Aodh Caomh, son of Conall, was the first King of all Munster of the race of Cormac Cas that received the faith and was baptized.

A.C. 604 The death of Amhalghaidh (Awley), King of Desmond. It was he who bestowed *Cluain*[28] *Umha* to God and to Colman.

Colman, son of Lenin, disciple of Brenainn, abbot of Clonfert, and first bishop of Cloyne in South Munster, died. In the Life of the same Brenainn he is called "Colman, son of Lenin, a saint excelling very many others for learning

23 The "Fort of the Sacks," at Rathbran Chapel, in the parish of Baltinglas, Co. Wicklow.

24 Mullagh or Daisy Hill, in Roe Park, in the Cianachta of Glen Geimhin, Co. Londonderry.

25 The "Wood of the Pilgrims," now Rosscarbery, Co. Cork.

26 Laoghaire (territory) of Ross, Co. Cork.

27 Bangor, Co. Down.

28 Cloyne, Co. Cork.

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and piety." It was in the time of Aodh Caomh, son of Conall, son of Eochaidh Bailldearg, King of all Munster, of the race of Cormac Cas, that he got the Episcopal See in Cloyne, according to the Book of Munster. He ruled over that See for a great many years. This Colman was of the race of Mogh Nuadhat, grandfather of Cormac Cas, according to the "History of the Saints of Inis Fail."

Cu-cen mathair[29] hoc anno natus est.

Dioma, son of Ronan, son of Aongus, son of Carthan Finn, King of Cashel.

Finghin, son of Aodh Dubh, succeeded Amhalghaidh in the Kingship of Desmond.

Quies Fiontain Abbatis et Fundatoris Monasterii Cluana h-Eidhneach,[30] filii Nepotis Eachach. Sic Tighernachus.

Aodh Uairiodhnach, son of Domhnall, was King of Tara for the space of seven years, and died at Tara. A.C. 605

Maolchobha, son of Aodh, son of Ainmire, reigned three years, till he was slain at the battle of *Sliabh Fuaid*[31] in Oriel by Suibhne Meann. A.C. 612

Suibhne Meann, son of Fiachra, reigned thirteen years, till he was slain by Conall Claon, son of Scanlan. A.C. 615

Fiondbarr, the first bishop of Cork, died at Cloyne, and was buried at Cork in his own church. This Fiondbarr was of the race of Brian, son of Eochy Moyvane. A.C. 617

Finghin, son of Aodh Dubh, and Aodh Brennan, son of Criomthann, Kings of Desmond, died, and Cathal, son of Aodh Flan-Cathrach, became king in their stead. A.C. 619

Caemhin of Glendalough died.

Reges Momoniae sic etiam in Annalibus Tighernachi, ad annum.

Cathal, son of Flann-Cathrach, King of Cashel and Desmond, died, and Failbhe Fland succeeded him. A.C. 627

[29] i.e., the Hero without a mother—Heros sine matre—died this year.

[30] i.e., the death of Fintan, abbot and founder of the monastery of Cluain Eidhneach, great-grandson of Eochaid. His father's name was Gabhren. Cluain Eidneach, latibulum hederosum. This annal seems to be taken from Tighernach.

[31] The highest mountain in the Fews, near Newtown Hamilton, Co. Armagh.

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A.C. 628 Domhnall, son of Aedh, reigned fourteen years in Tara, and died in Ardfothaidh[32] with the grace of unction and penance, as foretold by Saint Columban, according to the writing of Adamnan, though it is said by some historians that he was slain in a battle with the Ultonians.

Maolchoba, bishop of Clogher, was the brother of this Domhnall.

Mochodo of *Raithen*[33] and Failbhe Flann, King of Desmond, died, and Cuan, son of Amhalghaidh, succeeded him as King.

A.C. 642 Ceallach and Conall Caol, two sons of Maolchoba, reigned conjointly as Kings of Tara for twelve years, until Conall Caol was slain by Diarmaid, son of Aodh Slaine.

A.C. 643 Cuan, son of Amhalghaidh, King of Desmond, died, and Maonach, son of Finghin, succeeded as king in his stead.

A.C. 654 Ceallach, son of Maolchoba, reigned alone in Tara for four years after his brother was slain, until he fell by Diarmaid, son of Aodh Slaine.

A.C. 657 The death of Maonach, son of Finghin, King of Desmond, and Cu-cen-mathair succeeded as King in his stead.

A.C. 658 Diarmaid and Blathmac, two sons of Aodh Slaine, reigned conjointly seven years, until they died of the *Buidhe-Chonnaill*.[34]

A.C. 662 Cu-cen-mathair, son of Cathal, King of Desmond, died, and was succeeded by Colga, son of Failbhe Flann.

A.C. 665 Seachnasach, son of Blathmac, reigned six years, till slain by Dubhduin, King of Carbre.

A.C. 671 Ceannfaoladh, son of Blathmac, reigned four years, till slain by Fionnachta, son of Donnchaidh.

A.C. 675 Fionnachta, son of Donnchadh, i.e., Fiandachta Fleathach, reigned twenty years, till he fell in the battle of

[32] In Tir Hugh. It is the name of a hill near Ballymagrorty, Co. Donegal.

[33] Rathen, King's County.

[34] Icteritia flava, the yellow jaundice. This great plague took away the third part of the people of Ireland. It raged also over England, Scotland, and a great part of Europe, but, strange to say, the Picts escaped from its ravages.—Adamnan.

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Greallach Dollas,[35] along with his son Breasal, by Aodh, son of Luthaidh and Congalach, son of Conaing. It was this Fiannachta that remitted the Boroimhe to the Leinster men.

Colga, son of Failbhe Flann, King of Desmond, died, and was succeeded by Fionngaine, son of Cu-cen-mathair. A.C. 677

Conghal, son of Maolduin, King of Desmond, was slain by students. A.C. 690

Loingseach, son of Aongus, reigned nine years in Tara, until he was slain, together with his three sons—Ardghal, Condsach, and Flann, by Ceallach, son of Raghallach, King of Connacht. A.C. 695

There was a great slaughter and famine in Ireland at this time.

Fiongaine, son of Cu-cen-mathair, King of Desmond, died, and Oilioll, son of Cu-cen-mathair, succeeded him. A.C. 696

Oilioll, son of Cu-cen-mathair, King of Desmond, died, and Cormac, son of Oilioll, succeeded him. A.C. 700

Conghal *Ceand Maghair*,[36] son of Feargus, was King of Tara seven years, till he died of a fit of one hour's sickness. A.C. 704

Fearghal, son of Maolduin, was King of Tara[37] for eleven years, till slain at the battle of Allen, together with an hundred and sixty of his people, by Murchadh, son of Bran, King of Leinster. A.C. 711

Cormac, son of Oilioll, King of Desmond, was foully slain. A.C. 712

Foghartach, son of Niall, son of Cearnach, was King of Tara one year only, till he was slain at the battle of *Ceann-delegen*,[38] by Cinaeth, son of Irghallach. A.C. 722

Cinaeth, son of Irghallach, was King of Tara for four years, till he was slain in the battle of *Druim-Corcrain* by Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach, by Domhnall Ceallach, A.C. 724

[35] G. Dollaidh, or Dollaith, supposed by Dr. O'Donovan to be Girley, near Kells, Co. Meath ("Annals Four Masters," ad. an. 693, No. 9), but in connection with Ath-da-fearta (Onomasticon), probably in Co. Louth.

[36] i.e., of Ceann-Maghair, Kinnweer, at head of Mulroy Lake, parish of Killmacrenan, in Fanad, Co. Donegal.

[37] i.e., King of Ireland, though he might not have lived at Tara at all.

[38] Supposed to be Killdalkey Co., Meath.

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King of Connacht, and by Murchadh, son of Bran, King of Leinster.

A.C. 728 Flaithbheartach, son of Loingseach, reigned seven years King of Tara, till he died a monk in Armagh.

A.C. 734 Aodh Allan, son of Fearghal, reigned as King of Tara nine years, till he fell in the battle of *Ceannanas*[39] by Domhnall, son of Murchadh; but other historians say that it was in the battle of *Seanmaighe*[40] he fell.

There was a plague at this time that almost entirely devastated all Leinster.

The battle of *Uchdbhadh*[41] was fought by Aodh Allan, according to the rann:

"The battle of Uchdbhadh with vehemence,
Where were slaughtered the Fir-Feine.
There is not on the bright sandy soil
The offspring of a Leinsterman in Eire."

A.C. 735 Cathal, son of Fiongaine, King of Desmond, fought a battle against the men of Leinster.

A.C. 738 Another battle was fought by Cathal, son of Fionghaine, with the Leinster men.

A.C. 742 The death of Cathal, son of Fionghaine.

A.C. 743 Domhnall, son of Murchadh, reigned twenty years as King of Tara, and died on a pilgrimage in I Choluim Chille.

A.C. 763 Niall Frasach, son of Fearghal, reigned fifteen years as King of Tara, according to some historians; he was ruling, however, only the space of seven years before he entered as a religious into the monastery of I Choluim Chille, where he lived as a monk for eight years, and where he died and was buried.

[39] Kells, Co. Meath, in Magh Seirigh, i.e., in the plain lying around the place called Dun Chuile Sibrinne, now Kells.

[40] i.e., the old plain; Sean-magh-alt is Monalty, and Sean-magh-Ealta is a plain about Clontarf.

[41] Alias Ath Seanaigh, Ballysonnan, Co. Kildare.

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A Short Account of the Irish Pipes.

Contributed by MISS H. GODFREY.



OF the two forms of Irish Pipe, the "Piob Mor" or War Pipe and the "Uilleann" or Elbow Pipe, the former is by far the most ancient, being mentioned in the Brehon Laws, which were committed to writing in the fifth century; and on the large cross at Clonmacnoise is to be found a ninth century representation of an Irish Piper.

The small Pipe, the "Uilleann," is of much more modern date, only coming into general use in the sixteenth century, and is the Pipe commonly heard in Ireland to this day throughout the country and at the Oireachtas and Feis Ceoil. The "Uilleann" takes the form of a skin bag inflated by a small bellows placed under the right arm, the left forearm controlling the pressure of air into and out of the bag, to which is attached the chanter and stock, which holds an elaborate and complicated system of drones and regulators. This Pipe can only be played in a sitting position or with one of the performer's legs resting on a crutch stick which supports the knee; but the "Piob Mor" or War Pipe placed no such restrictions upon its player. Galilei, writing in 1581: "To its sound this unconquered, fierce and warlike people march against their enemies and encourage each other to deeds of valour."

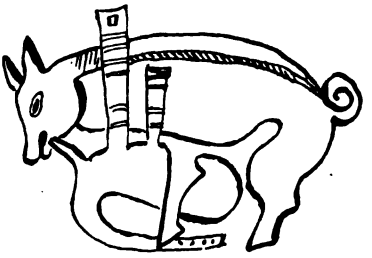
The "Piob" Mor," as has already been stated, was of ancient origin. From records, not only in Ireland, but to

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be found in libraries throughout the Continent, from the eleventh century onward, we find it mentioned as leading the Irish to battle, as well as in accounts of festivals, notably the great Eisteddfodd of Caerwys in 1100 and in 1138 at the great triennial Fair of Carman, as recorded in the "Book of Leinster and Ballymote."

In 1206 and 1260 mention is made of pipers in the Deeds of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.

Later, in the fourteenth century, they are referred to in certain state papers as "The music of the Irish kerns"; and



From a Manuscript, 1300.

by the Statute of Kilkenny, in 1367 it was made a penal offence to entertain Irish bards, pipers, or harpers.

The "Piob Mor" was known on the Continent also, as it is on record that they led the charge of the Irish troops at Calais 1346, Harfleur 1415, Boulogne 1540, and Rouen 1618; and there is to be seen in Vienna a painting by Dürer, dated 1514, of an Irish piper.

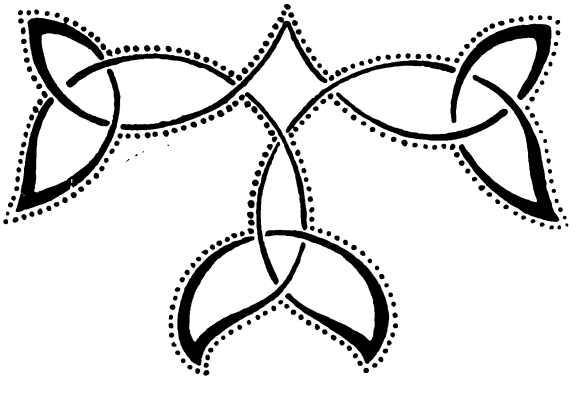
In records of the sixteenth century the Irish Pipes of both sorts, the "Piob Mor" and "Uilleann," are several times mentioned. Galilei, already referred to, writing of the latter (1581) says that "it is used as an accompaniment to funerals. With it also they accompany their dead to the graves, making mournful sounds as to invite, nay, almost force the bystanders to weep."

During the Civil War those regiments who remained

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faithful to the Stuarts carried the Pipe, as records show, and we even find some of the names of their war marches given—the pipers attached to Lord Inchiquin's army drawing off from Naas to the march, "Fortune my Foe."

The last mention of Pipes being carried in war was by the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy in 1745, but for many years after that Irish regiments and volunteers had a band of pipers; and we find Lord Rawdon had one in America till 1783, when the British troops evacuated New York. Several of the Irish regiments of the present day have their band of Irish Pipes, notably the Inniskillings and Royal Dublin Fusiliers.



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The Rider of the Ruins

THE great grey Cathedral of St. Brendan, surmounting the tempestuous limestone height from which Ardfert takes its name, is an exceedingly impressive ruin. Apart from the gigantic east window, the triune lights of which gaze forth like a solemn credo in stone, the architectural features are few. The building owes its effect to the huge blind battlemented walls, resembling an uncouth ark stranded within sound of the breakers. It does not need the interment of three score generations to give the place the repute of being haunted. The following story is one of many current in the district. I take it from the "Loch Léin" of October, 1903, where it appeared in Gaelic, having been contributed by a local priest, who was both competent and concerned to preserve our vanishing folk-lore, and who heard it from the lips of one William FitzGerald, a retired schoolmaster of Kilmoyly. The story is obviously modern, but the essential idea upon which it is based is as old as the cathedral itself, and probably very much older.

In the bad times, when people were denying the faith of their fathers, it began to be rumoured that a ghost was accustomed to seat himself every night on the highest point of the old cathedral. The ghost would put a question to everyone who went by, and when he did not get the answer that he wanted, he would leave his curse on the

1820-1913

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luckless victim. Many a one, it is said, attempted to give the ghost his answer, and many a one likewise was undone by the ghost's curse. At last no one would venture to go that way for love or money. One wild wintry night, however, a certain farmer was on his way home from the fair in Tralee. He had a drop taken, the poor man, and was afraid of neither ghost nor goblin. He had often heard the people of the parish talking about the ghost of the cathedral, and that evening he made up his mind that he would go and see it for himself. When he came to the cathedral, he looked sharply on every side, but nothing unusual could he see. "Sorrow a ghost there is here," says he, "it was making fun of me they were; but just wait till I get home and they'll hear the other side of the story. They won't make a fool of me a second time." Hardly were the words out of his mouth when he heard a voice above his head speaking to him. He raised his head and looked up, and there sure enough, was the ghost sitting on the top of the old ruin with a druidical wand in his hand. The poor farmer shook in his skin with the bare terror, and muttered between his teeth, "O King of Glory, I'm done now or never." Not another whimper did he let out of him, but took to his heels, and had all but made good his escape when the voice spoke to him again, as follows:

"Píop a's tobac do mharcach a' teampaill
Cuir leath-rann as soin."

(A pipe and tobacco to the rider of the ruins—put half a verse to that). The farmer was a good hand at making a verse; his courage came back to him again, and he answered boldly enough:—

"Muilionn a deunfaidhe i ngleann
Mheilfeadh sé thall a's abhus."

(A mill made in the glen, it will grind on this side and that). "That's a good answer," said the ghost, "but it won't do the trick. Come on for another try. Here you are:

"Píop a's tobac do mharcach a' teampaill
Cuir leath-rann as soin."

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The farmer stood a little while thinking; then he answered:

"Cuileann a bainfidhe um Shamhain
Chuirfeadh sé ceann ar thigh."

(A holly tree cut on November eve, it will put a head to the house). "Good man," says the ghost; "but that won't do the trick any more than the first answer. Come on again now, and maybe it will thrive better with you this time. Here you are:

"Píop a's tobac do mharcach a' teampaill
Cuir leath-rann as soin."

The farmer thought that it was making fun of him the ghost was, and he answered, angrily:

"Ba chóra dhuit bheith i bhFlaitheas Dé an am so
'Ná bheith ia sheasamh id shamhail annsain."

(It would be better for you to be spending your time in the Kingdom of God than to be sitting there like that).

"The blessing of God on you, my dear," says the ghost. "That is just what I was wanting, and it's a long time I'm waiting for it. I gave up my faith when I was alive, and on account of that I had to wait here until I would get that answer before I would be allowed into the Kingdom. However, I'm free now and must make haste. Good-bye, and God preserve you."

With that he rose in the air and disappeared from sight, nor did anyone ever see him again. The farmer came home very well pleased with himself, and boasted to the neighbours that he had put to rout the "rider of the ruins."

This story may seem trivial for the magazine of a serious society, but the idea that a ghost is, in certain instances, obliged to haunt a given spot until dismissed by a command from the living is an ancient and important one in Irish folk-lore. In Lady Wilde's interesting collection, the following relevant passage occurs, in the chapter on "The Dead":—"If a person of doubtful character dies, too bad for heaven, too good for hell, the people imagine that his

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soul is sent back to earth and obliged to obey the order of some person who bids him remain in a particular place until the Day of Judgment, or until another soul is found willing to meet him there, and then they may both pass into heaven together, absolved." Lady Wilde proceeds to illustrate this by a story which has the point of resemblance with that narrated, that the ghost is docile to the command of the living. However, in Lady Wilde's story, the ghost is commanded not by a stranger but by one whom he has wronged in life, and is dismissed not to felicity but to remorse.

Perhaps other members of the Society may know, or may be able to discover stories bearing upon a suggestive point in our profound and ancient folk-lore.

BLIGH TALBOT-CROSBIE.



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Notes and Queries.

Would any member interested in North Kerry antiquities who may have preserved the second number of this magazine kindly tell me if I am correct in my surmise that the article, "The Battle of Knockanure," should have been entitled rather "The Battle of Knockanore"; and that the photograph at foot of page 94 is not of "Knockanure Ruined Church," but of Kilconly ruined church, which stands between the hill of Knockanore and the Shannon estuary?

My reasons for so surmising are briefly as follows:—

(1) Knockanore is a "mountain" 880 feet above sea-level, six miles west-north-west of Listowel, sloping gradually down almost to the south bank of the Shannon at its mouth. Its name has been derived variously: Cnoc-n'an-or, "Hill of the Gold," not, indeed, because the precious metal has at any time been found in the locality, but, *poeticé*, since the setting sun causes its peaks to appear as tinged with gold. Dr. Joyce derives the name from Knockanare, "the Hill of Slaughter." Tradition tells of a great battle having been fought in the vicinity.

(2) Thomas de Stack's translation from Ossian, of which such an extensive extract is given in the article in question, tells (p. 87) how "Fion, &c., were performing . . . on the declivity of this hill on the brink of the lordly . . . Shannon."

(3) Knockanure, on the other hand, is an elevated townland about six miles to the east of Listowel, and a couple of miles from the County Limerick. It is almost nine miles from the river Shannon, and its "declivity" on that side is so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. I recollect no "ruined church" in its immediate neighbourhood. With its traditions I am unacquainted.

MAURICE G. McELLIGOTT, F.R.C.S. IREL.

Wigan, Oct. 18th, 1911.

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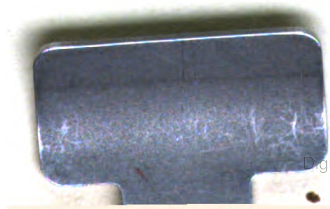
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